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Wood's Life of Milton: Its Sources and Significance

By WILLIAM RILEY PARKER

THE discovery that the so-called "Anonymous Life" of Milton was written by Cyriack Skinner[1] makes it appropriate to reconsider the relationship of this early biography to the first published life of Milton, that by Anthony à Wood in the *Fasti Oxonienses* (1691). In 1939 Allen R. Benham advanced the theory that the "Anonymous Life," instead of being a source of Wood's account, was subsequent thereto.[2] This theory may now safely be discarded. It is inconceivable that Skinner would have paraphrased or copied verbatim so much of a

[1] W. R. Parker, "The 'Anonymous Life' of Milton," (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, Sept. 13, 1957, p. 547. See also R. W. Hunt's "caveat" against this identification (*TLS*, Oct. 11, 1957, p. 609) and Maurice Kelley's citation of "certain distinctive forms of letters that argue strongly for Mr. Parker's attribution" (Dec. 27, 1957, p. 787). The documents in question will soon be published in facsimile so that interested students may decide for themselves.

The Life was discovered long ago by Edmond Malone, rediscovered in 1889 by Andrew Clark, and first published in 1902 by Edward S. Parsons. It may accurately be termed the "earliest" biography of Milton because the "minutes" by John Aubrey (ca. 1681/2; see n. 90, below) are only disconnected jottings for a biography to be written by someone else.

[2] "The So-called Anonymous or Earliest Life of Milton," *ELH*, VI (Dec. 1939), 245-255.

published, often hostile account of one who was his teacher and intimate friend, saying nothing about Wood and finding so little of his own to add.[3]

Until John Aubrey's "Minutes" were printed in 1813, Wood's Life and the independent Life by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips (1694), were the groundwork, the major sources, of all the attempts at Milton biography, including the influential accounts of Toland (1698), Richardson (1734), Birch (1738, 1753), Newton (1749), Dr. Johnson (1779), Hayley (1796), and Todd (1801, 1809). Wood's importance as a primary source diminished only when it was realized that he had made partisan use of Aubrey's notes and had omitted much valuable material to be found therein. The publication of the "Anonymous Life" in 1902 diminished his importance far more, for it was immediately apparent that he had also made partisan use of this manuscript, which had provided him with a high percentage of his material.[4] Nevertheless, since Masson in his "standard" *Life*

[3] This argument would have applied with equal strength to John Phillips had scholars accepted Miss Helen Darbishire's case for him as the author of the Life (*The Early Lives of Milton,* London, 1932, pp. xvi-xxvii). But Benham's theory was never sound. Conclusively against it were, not merely the fact that the "Anonymous Life" was found among Wood's papers in the Bodleian (MS. Wood D.4), nor the fact that Wood paraphrased and quoted verbatim from Aubrey and other unacknowledged sources, but the more telling facts that, if the "Anonymous Biographer" had followed and tried to correct Wood, he would certainly have been more precise about Milton's birth and death dates (see notes 7 and 94, below), and would certainly have given more accurate titles for a number of the pamphlets and presented a more nearly complete bibliography. Benham himself (pp. 248, 255) noted two other objections: Wood's getting right, and "Anonymous" getting wrong, the subject matter of *Tetrachordon* and the authorship of the 1652 *Clamor*. For a detailed and convincing rebuttal of Benham see E. S. Parsons, "Concerning 'The Earliest Life of Milton,'" *ELH,* IX (June 1942), 106-115. See also my footnotes 16, 24, 29, 33, 40, 46, 52, 56, 59, 61, 65, 69, 79, 82, and 92.

[4] In *Colorado College Studies,* X (March 1903), 2, E. S. Parsons estimated 45%. It would be more accurate to say about 40% (counting either words or factual items, e.g., bibliography, which accounts for much of Wood's independent contribution). Aubrey's contribution amounted to about 12% (counting words) or about 19% (counting factual items). Andrew Clark, one of the closest students of Wood's ways of working, has said: "I believe that practically every sentence in Wood's *Athenae* and *Fasti* is a quotation. . . . I fancy a good many of the anti-Milton interpolations in the MS. are from some other correspondents" (quoted by Parsons, *ELH,* IX, 115).

was unaware of the "anonymous" biography, and since the precise nature of Wood's debt to his two chief sources was never analyzed in detail, Wood is still cited in biographical studies as a primary source. It is high time, therefore, that a careful, conclusive estimate of his value as a biographer of Milton be published.

This is probably best done by reprinting Wood's Life with a clear and complete indication of what he either (*a*) paraphrased or (*b*) copied verbatim or (*c*) perverted from his five sources: (1) Skinner's Life, (2) Aubrey's "Minutes," (3) the autobiographical account in the *Defensio Secunda*,[5] (4) Milton's other publications, owned or examined in libraries or bookstores for bibliographical reference, and (5) a few periodicals such as the *Mercurius Politicus* and Term Catalogues. This reprint follows, with *Wood's contributions* independent of Skinner and Aubrey printed *in italic* (italics in the original therefore suppressed), with borrowings from Skinner in ordinary roman type, with borrowings from AUBREY IN LARGE AND SMALL CAPITALS, with quotation marks indicating verbatim borrowings, and with a century of explanatory footnotes on the whole.

An examination of this reprint will prove that Wood is now almost wholly worthless as biographical source material—that, indeed, his perverting or careless paraphrasing of his own unspecified sources has often been positively misleading. Future

[5] See n. 19. Aubrey did not consult the *Defensio Secunda* for his "Minutes," but he has a cryptic note on a page where the *Defensio Secunda* is under discussion: "Q. M^{r} Allam of Edm: hall Oxon. of M^{r} J. Milton's life writt by himselfe v. pagg." (Darbishire ed., p. 15). Andrew Allam (1655-1685) was another of Wood's helpers in biographical compilation. I interpret Aubrey's note as meaning that Wood should ask Allam about the autobiographical account in the *Defensio Secunda*, which Allam had called too late to Aubrey's attention but which Wood should see and use. In the Hague edition, which Wood used, this account (pp. 60-70) fills approximately five ("v."?) *leaves*, not pages. Or perhaps Aubrey meant "*see* pages ——" and did not complete the reference. On December 20, 1681 (about the same time as Aubrey's "minutes") one John Gregory wrote Wood: "pray remember me very kindly to M^{r} Allam: I am exceedingly taken with his ingenuity, and obligeingnesse. pray aske him where M^{r} J. Milton speakes of his owne life & y^{e} pagg." (Bodl. MS. Ballard 14, fol. 134). I am indebted to Professor J. Milton French for this reference, which clinches my interpretation of Aubrey's note.

biographers of Milton should cite him with caution on the very few occasions when it is necessary to cite him at all.

[WOOD'S LIFE OF MILTON]

[*1635.*] *This year was incorporated Master of Arts John Milton, not that it appears so in the Register, for the reason I have told you in the Incorporations 1629* [*col. 865*], *but from his own mouth to my friend,*[6] *who was well acquainted with, and had from him, and from his Rela-*

[6] The "friend" here mentioned is clearly John Aubrey (see the subsequent reference to the "Idea Theologiæ," after item 34 of Wood's list of Milton's publications), but there is serious reason to doubt that Aubrey ever said anything about Milton's unverifiable and otherwise unremarked incorporation in 1635. Aubrey reported to Wood on June 29, 1689 that, according to Edward Phillips, Milton "was never of Oxford" (Wood MS. F. 39, fol. 386^{v}). Regardless of whether or not Phillips knew what he was talking about, why would Aubrey report this without comment if he had earlier heard "from his own mouth" that Milton was incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1635?

Despite Helen Darbishire's argument to the contrary (*Early Lives*, pp. xi, xxxvi), Morris Freedman has recently shown (*Huntington Library Quart.*, XVIII, Feb. 1955, 101-103) that there is no real evidence that Aubrey was, as Wood asserts, "well acquainted" with Milton or, indeed, that he even knew him personally. Moreover, it is utterly untrue that Aubrey contributed "most" of Wood's account of Milton (see n. 4, above; but see also n. 40, below).

While I am charging Wood with dishonesty, let me add that, in my considered judgment, Wood simply invented the long-accepted "fact" of Milton's incorporation at Oxford in 1635, pinning it on his unnamed "friend." Under Incorporations 1629 he had explained that John French, registrar of Oxford University (1629-1648), had carelessly "omitted throughout all his time the Incorporations of the *Cantabrigians* at the conclusion of the *Act* . . . Those therefore that I find, you shall have as they follow." Although Wood manages to find about sixty whose incorporations he can date precisely, he is vague, except for the year, about the alleged incorporations of Milton and such other Cantabrigians as John Cleveland (1637), Richard Crashaw (1641), John Pell (1631), and Thomas Randolph (1631). The editors of Cleveland (J. M. Berdan, 1911, p. 19) and Crashaw (L. C. Martin, 1927, p. xxxii) have expressed a scepticism about Wood's allegations that might also have occurred to students of Milton. The truth is that Wood was eager to include, somehow, all prominent or notorious English writers in his book, even if he had to give their biographical sketches as part of the lives of undoubted Oxonians with whom they could be connected. Thus the Cantabrigians Andrew Marvell and Thomas May are treated at length under the headings of Samuel Parker and Sir William Davenant respectively. Under Jeremy Taylor there is even a biography of the Matchless but university-less Orinda. One may wonder that Wood did not include Milton under a sketch of Peter Du Moulin or someone else. That he chose instead to invent an unverifiable incorporation is to be explained, I fear, only by the unusual amount of data he wanted to include.

tions after his death, most of this account of his life and writings following. (1) THAT HE WAS BORN IN BREADSTREET WITHIN THE CITY OF LONDON, BETWEEN 6 AND 7 A CLOCK IN THE MORNING OF THE NINTH OF DECEMB. AN. 1608.[7] *(2)* THAT HIS FATHER JOH. MILTON WHO WAS A SCRIVNER LIVING AT THE SPREAD EAGLE[8] IN THE SAID STREET, WAS A NATIVE OF HALTON IN OXFORDSHIRE, AND HIS MOTHER NAMED SARAH WAS OF THE *antient* FAMILY OF THE BRADSHAWS. *(3)* THAT HIS GRANDFATHER MILTON WHOSE CHRISTIAN NAME WAS JOHN, AS HE THINKS,[9] WAS AN *Under*-RANGER *or Keeper* OF THE FOREST *of Shotover near to the said Town of Halton, but descended from those of his name who have lived beyond all record at Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire.*[10] WHICH GRANDFATHER BEING A ZEALOUS PAPIST, DID *put away, or, as some say,*[11] DISINHERIT, HIS SON, BECAUSE HE WAS A PROTESTANT, WHICH MADE HIM RETIRE TO LONDON, TO SEEK, IN A MANNER, HIS FORTUNE. *(4)* THAT HE THE SAID JOHN MILTON THE AUTHOR WAS EDUCATED *mostly*[12] IN PAULS SCHOOL UNDER *Alex.* GILL SENIOR, AND THENCE AT 15 YEARS OF AGE[13] WAS SENT TO CHRISTS COLL. IN CAMBRIDGE, WHERE HE WAS PUT UNDER THE TUITION OF *Will.* CHAPPELL, *afterwards Bishop of*

[7] Skinner (born 1627) says merely "about" 1608. Cf. n. 13, below. Aubrey transcribed the birth record in a Milton Bible (now B.M. Add. MS. 32,310).

[8] Wood's footnote (from Aubrey): "The Arms that *Joh. Milton* did use and seal his Letters with, were *Argent a spread Eagle with two heads gules, legg'd and beak'd sable.*"

[9] Aubrey, presumably on the word of Christopher Milton (Aubrey's note, oddly echoed here by Wood, is "he believes"), reports *John* as the name of *Richard* Milton, the poet's grandfather.

[10] Wood's imagination? Aubrey's notes report the grandfather "of Holton in Oxfordshire neer Shotover [Whately *deleted*] . . . next Towne to Fosthill within ½ a mile . . . & they were Raungers of the Forest." Cf. Skinner: "said to bee descended from an antient Knightly Family in Buckingamshire, that gave name to the chief place of thir abode."

[11] Both Aubrey and Skinner say that he was "disinherited."

[12] Wood doubtless noticed, in Aubrey or Skinner or the *Defensio Secunda* (Columbia Edition, VIII, 120), that Milton was also tutored at home.

[13] He was actually sixteen. Wood follows Aubrey ("at fifteen," with "about thirteen" deleted); Skinner says "about eighteen."

Ross in Ireland, and there, AS AT SCHOOL *for 3 years before,*[14] 'TWAS USUAL WITH HIM TO SIT UP TILL MIDNIGHT AT HIS BOOK, *which was the first thing that brought his eyes into the danger of blindness.*[15] By this "his indefatigable" study "he profited exceedingly," wrot *then*[16] several Poems, "paraphras'd some of David's Psalms," performed the collegiate and academical exercise to the admiration of all, and was esteemed to be a "vertuous and sober" person, *yet not to be ignorant of his own parts. (5)* That after he had taken the degrees in Arts, he left the University *of his own accord, and was not expelled for misdemeanours, as his Adversaries have said.*[17] Whereupon retiring to "his Fathers house in the Country," he spent some time in turning over Latin and Greek Authors,[18] and now and then made[19] excursions into the great City[20] *to buy books,*[21] *to the end that he might be instructed in* Mathematicks and Musick, *in which last he became excellent, and by the help of his Mathematicks could compose a Song or Lesson.*[22] *(6)* That after five years being thus spent, *and his Mother (who was very charitable to the poor) dead,*[23] he did design to travel, *so that obtaining the rudiments of the*

[14] Evidently an inference from Aubrey's (mistaken) note that he went to Cambridge "at fifteen," plus Milton's statement (*Def. Sec.*, VIII, 118) that he studied till midnight after he was twelve.

[15] Milton says this (*Def. Sec.*, VIII, 118), and, in another context, Skinner says that his blindness resulted from "a weakness which his hard nightly study in his youth had first occasion'd . . ."

[16] Carelessly paraphrasing Skinner, Wood is here misleading. Skinner: "and early in that time [referring to the period *before* college] wrote several grave and religious Poems."

[17] See, e.g., *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 112, 120.

[18] *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 120; see n. 19, below. Cf. Skinner: "the best Classic Authors, both Divine & Humane."

[19] Wood's footnote: "See in *Jo. Milton*'s book intit. *Defensio secunda*: Edit. *Hag. Com.* 1654. p. 61. &c." See n. 5, above.

[20] "London, from w^ch^ hee was not farr distant" (Skinner). Milton seems to have lived first (1632-1635) in Hammersmith, later in the "Country" at Horton.

[21] *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 120.

[22] Wood's addition to Aubrey, Skinner, and *Def. Sec.* (VIII, 120).

[23] *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 118, 120.

Ital. Tongue,[24] *and* "Instructions how to demean himself [. . .] from Sir Htn. Wotton" "WHO DELIGHTED IN HIS COMPANY," *and gave him Letters of commendation to certain persons living at Venice,*[25] he travelled into Italy, *an. 1638.*[26] *(7)* That in his way thither, he touched at Paris, where *Joh.*[27] Scudamoure *Vicount Slego,* Embassador from K. Ch. I. to the French King, *received him kindly,*[28] and by his means became known to Hugo Grotius, then and there Embassador from the Qu. of Sweden; but "the manners and genius" of that place being not agreeable to his mind, he soon left it. *(8) That thence by Geneva*[29] *and other places of note,* he went into Italy, and thro Legorne, Pisa, &c. he went to Florence, where continuing two months, *he became acquainted with several learned men,* and familiar with the choicest Wits of that great City,[30] who introduced and admitted him into "their private Academies," whereby he saw and learn'd their fashions of literature. *(9)* That from thence he went to *Sena*[31] *and* Rome, *in both which* "places he spent his time" among the most learned there, Lucas Holsteinius being one; and from thence he journied to Naples, where he was introduced into the Acquaintance of *Joh. Bapt.* Mansus an Italian Marquess (*to whom Torquatus Tassus an Italian Poet wrot his book De amicitia*)[32] who shewed great civilities

[24] A misleading paraphrase of Skinner: "Beeing now . . . competently skill'd, amongst others, in the Italian language . . ."

[25] This would seem to be Wood's gratuitous and mistaken inference from the fact that Wotton was once ambassador to Venice. Wotton did give Milton a letter to Mr. M[ichael] B[ranthwaite].

[26] Aubrey (Edward Phillips' handwriting) has "about y^e^ year 1638."

[27] Wood adds this Christian name to Skinner's account, thus correcting Milton's error ("Thomas") in the *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 122.

[28] ". . . humanissimè accepit" (*Def. Sec.*, VIII, 122).

[29] Milton (*Def. Sec.*, VIII, 122) says "Genuam"; Skinner, "Genua." Either spelling may have confused Wood and caused his error.

[30] Cf. Skinner: "in familiar and elegant conversation with the choice Witts of that Citty, and was admitted by them to thir private Academies."

[31] Milton (VIII, 122), but not Skinner, notes the trip to Sienna.

[32] *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 124.

to him, accompanied "him to see the rarities of" that "place," visited him at his Lodgings, and sent to, "the testimony" of his "great esteem" for, him, "in this Distich,"

> Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,
> Non Anglus, verum *herculè*[33] Angelus ipse fores.

And "excus'd himself at parting for not having been able to do him more honour, by reason of his resolute owning his (*Protestant*) Religion:" which resoluteness he using at Rome, *many there were that dared not to express their civilities towards him, which otherwise they would have done: And I have heard it confidently related, that for his said Resolutions, which out of policy, and for his own safety, might have been then spared, the English Priests at Rome were highly disgusted,*[34] and it was question'd, whether the Jesuits his Countrymen there, did not design "to do him mischief." Before he left "Naples he return'd the Marquess an acknowledgment of his great favours in an elegant copy of Verses entit. Mansus, which is" among the Latin Poems. *(10) That from thence (Naples) he thought to have gone into Sicily and Greece, but upon second thoughts he continued in Italy,*[35] *and went to Luca, Bononia, Ferrara,*[36] and at length to Venice; *where continuing a month, he went and visited Verona and Millan. (11)* That after he had ship'd the books *and other goods* which he had bought in his travels, he returned thro "Lombardy, and over the Alpes to Geneva, where" spending some time, he became familiar with the famous *Joh.*

[33] Skinner has "herclè"—as have the 1645 and 1673 editions of the *Poems*. Miss Darbishire (p. 37) drops the word "facies" from this quotation in her edition of Wood's Life. (I have counted a total of 123 other errors, most of them matters of spelling or punctuation. There are about 57 errors in her transcription of the "Anonymous Life," some of them, e.g., "jealous" for "zealous," more serious than those that mar her edition of Wood's biography.)

[34] Wood's addition, despite his "I have heard it confidently related," may be only rhetorical inference from Milton's account. Probably, however, he heard this from Thomas Gawen; see Vol. II, col. 572.

[35] *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 124.

[36] From the *Def. Sec.*, which also (like Skinner) mentions the second visits to Rome and Florence, omitted by Wood.

Deodate *D.D.* "Thence," going "thro France, he returned home," well fraught with Knowledge *and Manners*, after he had been absent one year and three months. *(12)* THAT *soon* AFTER HE SETLED IN AN HOUSE IN S. BRIDES CHURCHYARD *near Fleet-street* IN LONDON, WHERE HE INSTRUCTED IN THE LAT. TONGUE TWO YOUTHS NAMED JOHN AND EDW. PHILIPS, THE SONS OF HIS SISTER ANNE BY HER HUSBAND EDWARD PHILIPS: *both which were afterwards Writers, and the eldest principl'd as his Uncle.*[37] *But the times soon after changing, and the Rebellion thereupon breaking forth, Milton sided with the Faction, and being a man of parts, was therefore more capable than another of doing mischief, especially by his pen, as by those books which I shall anon mention, will appear. (13) That at first we find him a Presbyterian and a most sharp and violent opposer of Prelacy, the established ecclesiastical Discipline and the orthodox Clergy. (14) That shortly after he did set on foot and maintained very odd and novel Positions concerning Divorce, and then taking part with the Independents, he became a great Antimonarchist, a bitter Enemy to K. Ch. I. and at length arrived to that monstrous and unparallel'd height of profligate impudence, as in print to justifie the most execrable Murder of him the best of Kings,*[38] *as I shall anon tell you. Afterwards being made* "LATIN SECRETARY TO THE PARLIAMENT," *we find him a Commonwealths man, a hater of all things that looked towards a single person, a great reproacher of the Universities, scholastical degrees, decency and uniformity in the Church. (15) That when Oliver ascended the Throne, he became the Latin Secretary, and proved to him very serviceable when employed in business of weight and moment, and did great matters to obtain a name and wealth.*[39] *To conclude,*[40] *he was a person*

[37] Apparently Wood here considers John Phillips the "eldest," although Aubrey's notes could have corrected him. Cf. Wood's account of Edward Phillips, *Athenæ*, ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1813-1820), IV, 764.

[38] Cf. Aubrey: "Whatever he wrote against Monarchie was out of no animosity to the King's person, or out of any faction, or Interest but out of a pure zeall to the Liberty of Mankind, . . ."

[39] Cf. Skinner: "And hee was so farr from beeing concern'd in the corrupt designs of his Masters, . . . hee was a Stranger to thir private Counsels . . . hee was not link'd to one Party by self Interest, . . . This his Sincerity, and disentanglement

of wonderful parts, of a very sharp, *biting and* "SATYRICAL WIT." *He was a good Philosopher and Historian, an excellent Poet, Latinist, Grecian and Hebritian, a good Mathematician and Musitian, and so rarely endowed by nature, that had he been but honestly principled, he might have been highly useful to that party, against which he all along appeared with much malice and bitterness. As for the things which he hath published, are these, (1)* OF REFORMATION, *touching Church Discipline in England, and the causes that hitherto have hindred it, &c. Lond. 1641. qu. At which time, as before,* "the Nation was much divided upon the Controversies about Church Government between the prelatical party, and [. . .] Puritans," and therefore Milton did "with great boldness and zeal" offer "his judgment" as to those matters in his said book of Reformation. *(2)* Animadversions upon the Remonstrants defence against Smectymnus. *Lond. 1641. qu.* Which Rem. defence was written (as 'tis said)[41] by *Dr. Jos.* Hall Bishop *of Exeter. (3)* Apology *against the humble Remonstrant.*[42] This was written in vindication of his Animadver-

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of any private ends with his Sentiments relating to the Public, proceeded no doubt from a higher Principle, but was in great part supported, and temptations to the contrary avoided by his constant Frugality; . . . His moderate Estate left him by his Father was through his good Oeconomy sufficient to maintain him." Cf. also *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 86.

[40] Note that Wood's Life has two explicit "conclusions," the second drawn chiefly from Skinner. Perhaps the material from Skinner was added to an already completed draft based on Aubrey and on Wood's own bibliographical data; this hypothesis would account for the frequently awkward grammar, the repetitions, and the inconsistencies in the final version.

I suspect (though I cannot prove) that the above italicized text beginning "*But the times soon after changing,*" and ending "*with much malice and bitterness,*" were contributed, along with some other non-bibliographical passages here italicized, by Wood's friend, William Joyner, *alias* Lyde (1622-1706), who according to Thomas Hearne "was intimately acquainted with Mr Milton" (*Remarks and Collections*, ed. C. E. Doble, II [1885], 288). Joseph Hunter—*Milton: A Sheaf of Gleanings* (London, 1850), p. 19—records "the statement of Mr. [John?] Loveday, that Wood received part of his information respecting Milton from ——— Joyner, a Fellow of one of the Colleges at Oxford." See also n. 4, above.

[41] Skinner calls this "the work of Bishop Hall," but (following the order of the *Def. Sec.*) places *Animadversions* fourth among Milton's pamphlets.

[42] *An Apology Against a Pamphlet Call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus.* It is highly doubtful that Wood had seen this; see n. 43, below. Aubrey (Phillips): "A defence of Smectymnuus"; Skinner: "Apology for those Animadversions."

sions. *(4)* AGAINST PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY.[43] *This I have not yet seen. (5)* THE REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT; *nor this.*[43] *(6)* THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE, *&c. in two books. Lond. 1644-45,*[44] *qu. To which is added in some Copies*[45] *a translation of* THE JUDGMENT OF MART. BUCER CONCERNING DIVORCE, *&c. It must be now known,*[46] that after his settlement, upon his return from his Travels, "he in a months time [. . .] courted, married, and brought home" to his house in London, a Wife from *Forsthill*[47] *lying between Halton and Oxford,* NAMED MARY the Daughter of Mr. —— Powell of that place *Gent.* "But she," who "was very young, and had been bred in a family of plenty and freedom, being not well pleas'd with" her Husbands retired[48] "manner of life," did shortly after[49] leave "him and went back" in "the Country with her Mother." Whereupon, "tho he sent" divers[50] "pressing invitations," yet he could not "prevail with her to" come back, "till about 4 years after when" the Garrison of Oxon "was surrendred (the nighness of her Fathers house to" which "having for the most part of the mean time hindred any communication

[43] So listed by Aubrey (Phillips); Skinner: "And then [after *Of Reformation*] in answer to a Bishop hee writt of *Prelatical Episcopacy* & *The Reason of Church Governm*t." Both these pamphlets and the *Apology,* not seen by Wood, had been presented by Milton to the Bodleian Library.

[44] There were editions of 1643, 1644, and 1645 (*bis*). Bodleian Wood B.29 is dated 1645 and advertises itself as a revised edition.

[45] An interesting bibliographical observation. However, the second edition (1644) of the *Doctrine and Discipline* was sold out before the *Bucer* was published. "The Works of Mr. John Milton, concearning Divorce, digested into one Volume" was advertised for sale by Edward Farnham in William Chappell's *The Preacher* (1656), but no copy of such a volume is now known.

[46] It may be significant that, in discussing Milton's first marriage, Wood uses Skinner's account and ignores Aubrey's. Skinner, however, correctly introduces this subject immediately after the *Apology* (1642): "In this while," etc. Aubrey, like Edward Phillips (probably his oral source), emphasizes the politics (Royalist) of the deserting wife.

[47] Skinner: "from Forrest-hall near Oxford"; Aubrey: "Fosthill in Oxonshire." Wood, of course, knew the place well.

[48] Skinner: "reserv'd."

[49] Skinner: "within a few days." Cf. Edward Phillips (1694): "a Month or thereabout."

[50] Skinner: "severall."

between them) she of her own accord" returned "and submitted to him, pleading that her Mother had been the" chief promoter[51] of her "frowardness." *But he being not able to bear this abuse, did therefore*[52] upon consideration, after he had consulted many eminent Authors, write the said book of Divorce, with intentions to be separated from her, *but by the compromising of her Relations the matter did not take effect:*[53] *so that she continuing with him ever after till her death,*[54] HE HAD SEVERAL CHILDREN BY HER, OF WHOM DEBORAH WAS THE THIRD DAUGHTER, TRAINED UP BY THE FATHER IN LAT. AND GREEK, AND MADE BY HIM HIS AMANUENSIS.[55] *(7)* TETRACHORDON: *Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture,*[56] *which treat on marriage, on Gen. I. 27, 28. &c. Lond. 1646.*[57] *qu. (8)* COLASTERION: *A reply to a nameless answer against the doctrine and discipline of divorce, &c. printed 1645. qu.*[58] *Upon his publication of the said three books of Marriage and Divorce,*[59] "the

[51] Skinner: "the inciter."

[52] Wood seems to have inferred that the divorce tract followed Mary's return; but Skinner says: "Hee in this Interval, . . . could ill bear the disappointment hee mett with by her obstinate absenting: And therefore thought upon a Divorce, that hee might bee free to marry another; concerning which hee also was in treaty." Edward Phillips (1694) tells us that this other woman was "one of Dr. Davis's Daughters." Dr. Davis has yet to be identified.

[53] Wood's gratuitous inference from the facts he found in Skinner? Since he has already said that she returned "of her own accord" and is here apparently speaking of subsequent events, his statement should not be confused with Edward Phillips' account (1694) of the rôle of her relatives—and Milton's—in her return.

[54] Note what Wood's language insinuates about the quality of Milton's marriage after Mary's return, and cf. Skinner: "Of his Gentleness and Humanity hee likewise gave signal proof in receiving home, and living in good accord till her death with his first wife, . . ."

[55] Aubrey: "Deborah was his Amanuensis, he taught her Latin, & to read Greeke [and Hebrew *deleted with a query*] to him, when he had lost his eiesight, . . ." And on another page: "His da: Deborah could read to him Latin: Ital. & French & Greeke."

[56] Skinner, incorrectly, speaks of "those foure places of the Evangelists."

[57] A misprint? See the date of the next item. All known copies of *Tetrachordon*, including Bodleian Wood B.29, are dated 1645.

[58] Probably cited from his own copy, now Bodleian Wood B.29. Cf. Skinner: "then *Colasterion*, and after *Tetrachordon* . . ."

[59] *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion* were published on or slightly before 4 March 1645 (Thomason's date), but the House of Lords had ordered Milton examined

Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster" *took special notice of them, and thereupon,* tho the Author had obliged them by his pen in his "defence of Smectymnus and other their Controversies" had "with the Bishops," they "impatient of having the Clergies jurisdiction (as they reckon'd it) invaded," did, "instead of answering, or disproving what those books had asserted," cause "him to be summoned" before the House of "Lords: but that House, whether approving the Doctrine, or not favouring his Accusers," did soon dismiss him. *To these things I must add,*[60] that after his Majesties Restauration, "when the subject of Divorce was under consideration with the Lords upon the account of" *John* Lord *Ros or* Roos *his separation from his Wife Anne Pierpont eldest Daughter to Henry Marquess of Dorchester,* "he was consulted by an eminent Member of that House," *as he was about that time* "by a chief Officer of State," *as being the prime person that was knowing in that affair.*[61] *(9)* Of Education,[58] *written or* addressed to Mr. *Sam.* Hartlib. In this Treatise "he prescrib'd an easie and delightful method for" the "training up" of Gentry "to all sorts of Literature, [as] that they might at the same time by like degrees advance in virtue and abilities to serve their

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on Dec. 28, 1644. Wood's error came from making specific Skinner's general reference to "those books" (mistakenly substituted for "hee" in the MS.).

[60] Wood takes these from the final paragraph of Skinner's Life.

[61] Wood misunderstands Skinner, who writes just *before* mentioning the Lord Roos affair: he "was so farr from beeing reckon'd disaffected, that hee was visited at his house on Bun-hill [i.e., after his marriage in 1663] by a Chief Officer of State, and desir'd to imploy his Pen on thir behalfe." Skinner's statement, disentangled from Wood's, deserves to be taken seriously by Milton's biographers. The government of Charles II sought John Thurloe's services, and Milton's friend and fellow Latin Secretary, Andrew Marvell, continued in public life after the Restoration. The poet's widow testified that he "was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the Court," and, writing independently, Richardson reported that Charles II offered Milton the post of Latin Secretary. That Charles would ask Milton to approve and defend the new government is incredible; that he would wish to make some use of Milton's skill in translating official documents into Latin is altogether credible—and a likely time was after the death of Sir Richard Fanshawe, June 16, 1666, and before the appointment, July 13, of Nicholas Oudart to succeed him as Latin Secretary. Another possible time was February 1670 (shortly before the Lord Roos debates; cf. Skinner's order of statement), when Oudart was ill and John Evelyn was hoping to succeed him (*CSPD 1670*, p. 106).

Country, subjoyning directions for their" *obtaining* "other necessary or ornamental Accomplishments." And to this end that he might put it "in practice," he took a larger "house, where the Earl of Barrimore sent by his Aunt the Lady Rannelagh, Sir Thomas Gardiner of Essex," to be there with others (besides his two Nephews) "under his Tuition. But whether it were that the tempers of our Gentry would not bear the strictness of his discipline, or for what other" reasons I cannot tell, "he continued that course but a while." *(10)* AREOPAGETICA:[62] *A speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing, to the Parliament of England. Lond. 1644. qu.*[58] "written [. . .] to vindicate the freedom of the Press from the Tyranny of Licensers, who" *for several Reasons* "deprive the publick of the benefit of many useful" Authors. *(11) Poemata: quorum pleraque intra annum ætatis vigesimum conscripsit author,*[63] *&c. Lond. 1645. oct. (12) A mask.—printed 1645. oct.*[64] *(13)* POEMS, *&c.—printed the same year.* Hitherto *we find him only to have published political things,*[65] but when he saw, upon the coming of K. Charles I. to his Tryal, the Presbyterian Ministers clamorously to assert "in their Sermons and Writings the privileges of Kings from all accountableness, or (to speak in the language of" *that*[66] "time) Non-resistance and Passive Obedience to be the

[62] Both Skinner and Aubrey (Phillips) spell this correctly, the former commenting: "which seem'd to bee his particular Province, who was so zealous in promoting Knowledge . . ."

[63] Wood adds the word "author" to the actual title. Bodleian Ashm. 1632 and 8° T.14.Art.BS. are copies of the *Poemata* only.

[64] It has a separate title page but does not seem to have been issued separately. Note the duplication of 13—perhaps caused by giving this item a number as an afterthought. Although noted by Langbaine (1691), none of the earliest biographers mentions the 1637 edition of *Comus*. The two Bodleian copies are Malone 195(3) and Malone 302.

[65] This is so palpably untrue that it must have been a blunder, rather than a libel, on Wood's part. Cf. Skinner: "Hitherto all his Writings had for subject the propagation of Religion or Learning, or the bettering some more private concerns of Mankind: In Political matters hee had publish'd nothing." Cf. also Milton's own statement in *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 134.

[66] Skinner: "this time." Cf. "this Age" and "that time" (Darbishire ed., pp. 25, 31, 29). Edmond Malone regarded Skinner's phrasing as evidence that his Life was written in 1686 or 1687 (Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc.d.26; cited by Darbishire,

Doctrine of all the reformed Churches" (which he took to be only their "malignity" against the Independents "who had supplanted them more than" for "any principles of Loyalty") he therefore to oppose that "Thesis" (which as he conceiv'd did encourage "all manner of Tyranny") did write and publish from divers Arguments and Authorities.[67] *(13)* [*sic*] *The* TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES: *proving that it is lawful, &c. to call to account a Tyrant or King, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, &c. Lond. 1649-50. qu.*[68] Soon after the King being beheaded *to the great astonishment of all the World,* and the Government thereupon changed, "he was, without any seeking of his, by the" endeavours "of a private acquaintance, who was a member of the new Council of State, chosen Latin Secretary," *as I have before told you.* "In this publick station his abilities" and "acuteness" of parts, which had been in a manner kept private, "were soon taken notice of, and he was pitch'd upon to elude the artifice" (*so it was then by the Faction called*) of Eikon Basilice. *Whereupon he soon after published (14)* ICONOCLASTES *in answer to a book entit. Eikon Basilice, the portrature of his sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings. Lond. 1649-50.*[69] *qu. ib. 1690, oct. which being pub-*

p. 337). The doctrine of "non-resistance and passive obedience" was indeed prominent in this (that) period, but, as Benham points out (pp. 252-254; see n. 2, above), it did not become obsolete in 1688, and, as Wood's alteration of "this" to "that" indicates, it was an issue earlier than 1686. See, e.g., Thomas White's *The Grounds of Obedience and Government, being the best answer to all that has been lately written in defense of Passive Obedience and Non Resistance* (London, 1655). That Skinner's Life was written after 1676 is clear from its reference to the "printed" Letters of State; and it was *apparently* written without knowledge of other biographical work published or in progress ("But that this Age is insensible of the great obligations it has to him, is too apparent in that hee has no better a Pen to celebrate his Memory").

[67] Skinner adds: "but without any particular application to the dispute then on foot in this Nation." Wood italicizes (i.e., quotes) the word "Thesis."

[68] Wood owned (Bodl. Wood B.29) a first issue of the second edition, dated 1649. Milton presented a second issue, dated 1650, to the Bodleian (4^0 Rawl. 408).

[69] Wood owned (Bodl. Wood B.29) the 1649 edition; Milton presented the 1650 edition to the Bodleian (4^0 Rawl. 408) on June 11, 1656. In the preceding sentence the words "the artifice" are italicized (i.e., quoted) by Wood. Cf. n. 67, above.

lished to the horror of all sober men, nay even to the Presbyterians themselves, yet by the then dominant party it was esteemed an excellent piece, and "perform'd answerably to the expectation" of "his Wit and Pen." *After the Return of King Charles 2. this book was called in by Proclamation, dated 13 Aug. 1660, at which time the Author* (who a little before had "left his house in Petty France which had a door" going into *S. James's* Park) *absconded, for fear of being brought to a "legal Tryal," and so consequently of receiving "condign Punishment."*[70] *At the same time also, was called in a book of John Goodwin then lately a Minister in Colemanstreet in Lond. entit. The Obstructors of Justice: written in defence of the Sentence against his Majesty Charles I. At which time also the said Goodwin absconded to prevent Justice.* Soon after the publication of Iconoclastes, "Salmasius a Professor in Holland, who had in a large Treatise not long before, maintained," *as 'tis said,* "the parity of Church Governors against Episcopacy," did publish *Defensio regia, pro Carolo I. Rege Angliæ,* wherein he justified several matters, *as Milton conceived,* "to the contradiction of his former book." Whereupon he wrot and published *(15) Pro populo Anglicano defensio contra Claudii Anonymi alias Salmasii defensionem regiam. Lond. 1651. fol.*[71] *said to be* written "in more correct Latin" than that of Salmasius. While Milton was writing the said book, "his sight began to fail him," and "before it was fully compleated, one" of his eyes did "absolutely" perish. *In the month of June the same year (1651) the said book was burnt at Tholouse by an arrest from the Parliament, under the Government of the Duke of Or-*

[70] Wood either saw the actual proclamation or read its text in *Mercurius Publicus* (Aug. 9-16, 1660) or the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* (Aug. 13-20). Cf. Skinner: "hee early sued out his Pardon; and by means of that, when the Serjeant of the house of Commons had officiously seisd him, was quickly set at liberty. Hee had too at the first return of the Court in good manners left his house in Petty France, . . ."

[71] Since he cites only the folio, Wood probably examined Bodleian E. H. 2.20.Art., presented by Milton to the Library. At II, col. 582 (s.v. George Morley) Wood calls Milton an "impudent lyer" for saying that Charles II rewarded Salmasius with "a purse of Gold."

leans:[72] *And in Sept. following it was the usual practice of Marchm. Nedham a great crony of Milton, to abuse Salmasius in his publick Mercury called Politicus, (as Milton had done before in his Defensio) by saying among other things that Christina Qu. of Sweden had cashiered him her favour, by understanding that he was "a pernicious parasite, and a promoter of Tyranny."*[73] *After his Majesties Restauration, this book also was called in by the same Proclamation before mention'd. But so it was, that in 1652, a certain book entit. Regii sanguinis clamor, &c. being published,* Salmasius was highly extol'd in it, and Milton *had his just Character given therein.*[74] The nameless Author of which *being for a considerable time sought out, but in vain,*[75] *by Milton,* he *at length* learn'd by certain Ministers of State sent to the Republick of England, (who would sometimes visit him as a learned man) that it was written by one ALEX. More "formerly a Professor and Minister at Geneva, then living in Holland." *Whereupon he published (16) Pro populo Anglicano defensio secunda, contra infamem libellum Anonymum, cui titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus patricidas Anglicanos. Lond. 1654, and at Hag. Com. the same year, in oct.* UPON THE WRITING OF THIS BOOK,[76] THE AUTHOR MILTON LOST THE OTHER EYE; *and tho to his charge he used many means, yet he could never recover either of his eyes. This book entit. Reg. sang. clam. &c.* THO WRITTEN BY *Dr.* PETER DU MOULIN *Prebendary of Canterbury, as it afterwards well appeared, yet Milton*

[72] Wood perhaps noted this in *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 56, June 26-July 3, 1651, p. 899. Cf. *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 188.

[73] Wood quotes (approximately) *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 66, Sept. 4-11, 1651, p. 1056: ". . . to harbor so pernitious a *Parasite*, and Promoter of Tyrany."

[74] Skinner: "in which Salmasius was hugely extoll'd, and M^r Milton as falsly defam'd."

[75] Wood's mistaken inference from the dates 1652 and 1654? Skinner: "soon discover'd to bee Morus." See also *Mercurius Politicus* for Sept. 23-30, 1652 and *Def. Pro Se*, IX, 14-16, 28, etc.

[76] Aubrey: "upon the writing of other books after that [the first *Defensio*] his other eie decayed." Skinner: "While hee was thus employ'd [the *Defensio Pro Se* just mentioned] his Eysight totally faild him." See W. R. Parker, "The Dates of Milton's Sonnets on Blindness," *PMLA*, LXXIII (June 1958).

upon the reports before mention'd, could not be convinced to the contrary,[77] *but that it was written by the said More, and therefore not only abused him in his Answers, but by his friend Nedham in his Politicus, whereby the reputation of that learned person was severely touched.*[78] *(17) Pro se defensio contra Alex. Mornum Ecclesiaste, libelli famosi, cui tit. Regii sanguinis clamor, &c. Lond. 1655, oct. In this book he is exceeding bitter against Morus, and pretends to give* a "true history of his notorious Impurities both at Geneva and Leyden," and an account of his own particular life to vindicate himself from what, as he thought, was scurrilously said of him by Morus.[79] *At the end of the said book, the Author Milton added Ad Alex. Mori supplementum responsio. About the time that he had finished these things,*[80] he had "more leisure," and time at command, and "being dispenced with by having a substitute allowed him, and sometimes Instructions sent home to him from attending his office of Secretary, [. . .] he began that laborious work of amassing out of all the classick Authors both in prose and verse a Latin Thesaurus, to the emendation of that done by Stephanus; also the composing" of Paradise lost, and of "the framing a Body of Divinity out of the Bible. All which, notwithstanding the several" troubles that befell "him in his fortunes, he finished after" his Majesty's Restauration. *But to go on with the Cat. of his Books according to time, take these as they follow, (18) Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes, &c. Lond. 1659. in tw. (19) Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church. Lond. 1659. in tw. (20) Ready and easie*

[77] Cf. Aubrey: "his sharp writing against Alexander More of Holland upon a mistake notwithstanding he had given him by the [Dutch] Ambassador all satisfaction to the contrary, viz. that the booke (called Clamor) was writt by Peter du Moulin. well that was all one, he having writt it, it should goe into the world. one of them was as bad as the other."

[78] The allusions in the *Politicus* have been collected by Masson, Parker (*Milton's Contemporary Reputation*), and French (*Life Records*).

[79] Wood is badly confused in paraphrasing Skinner, although he himself consulted the autobiographical account in the *Defensio Secunda*, to which, of course (rather than the *Defensio Pro Se*), Skinner is referring.

[80] Wood's (rather natural) inference from Skinner; but the substitute was allowed, and Milton began receiving instructions at home, in 1652, not 1655.

way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the excellencies [*sic*] *thereof compared with, &c. Lond. 1659, in two sheets and an half in qu.*[81] *This being published in Feb. the same year, was answer'd by G. S. in his Dignity of Kingship. (21) Brief notes upon a late Sermon titled, The fear of God and the King, &c. Lond. 1660. qu.*[82] *See more in Matthew Griffith among the Writers, an. 1665* [II, *col. 249*]. *(22)* Accedence commenced Grammar, *&c. pr. 1661. in oct.*[83] *(23)* PARADISE LOST: *a Poem in 10 books. Lond. 1669. qu. pr. in fol. with cuts, an. 1688. (24)* PARADISE REGAIN'D: *a Poem in four books. Lond. 1670.*[84] *qu. pr. in fol. with cuts, an. 1688. (25)* HISTORY OF *Britany* FROM THE FIRST TRADITIONAL BEGINNING, CONTINUED TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST. LOND. 1670, QU. *This History when it first came abroad, had only the reputation of the putting of our old Authors neatly together in a connex'd story, not abstaining from some lashes at the ignorance, or I know not what, of those times. (26) Artis logicæ plenior institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata. Lond. 1672, in tw.*[85] *(27) Of true Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth and increase*[86] *of Popery. Lond. 1673. qu.*[82] *(28) Poems, &c. on several occasions, both English*

[81] Although he quotes the title inaccurately and all known copies of the first edition are dated 1660 on the title page, the collation makes it seem as though Wood had examined the tract. Doubtless his discovery that it was "published in Feb." (from *Mercurius Politicus* for March 1-8, 1660?) affected his note on the year. Elsewhere (II, col. 441) he gives the date as 1659/60.

[82] Skinner does not mention Wood's items 18-21 and 27, but they are listed (short titles) by Aubrey (Phillips). At II, col. 249, Wood discusses Griffith's sermon, Milton's reply, and Roger L'Estrange's *No Blinde Guides.*

[83] All known copies of the *Accedence* are dated 1669. The book is not an octavo, but it *sold* for 8*d* (*Term Catalogues*, ed. Edward Arber, London, 1903-1906, I, 14). Cf. n. 84, below. Aubrey, who does not give the correct title, also terms it an octavo. Note the call-number of one of the Bodleian copies: 8^{0} C89 Art.

[84] No copy of *Paradise Regained* dated 1670 is known. The book was licensed July 2, 1670, registered Sept. 10, and listed in the Term Catalogue for Michaelmas 1670 (I, 56)—but there, correctly, noted as an octavo rather than quarto. It *sold*, however, for 4*d*; cf. n. 83, above, and n. 86, below. Note that Wood, like Aubrey, omits mention of *Samson Agonistes.*

[85] So the Term Catalogue for Easter 1672 (I, 105; cf. I, 128). Cf. n. 86, below.

[86] So the Term Catalogue for Easter 1673 (I, 135). This is probably Wood's source since the words "and increase" do not occur in the actual title of the tract. Cf. n. 91, below.

and Latin, &c. composed at several times. Lond. 1673-4.[87] *oct. Among these are mixed some of his Poems before mention'd, made in his youthful years. (29) Epistolarum familiarium lib. I. Lond. 1674. oct.*[88] *(30) Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ in Coll. Christi habitæ.*[89] *printed with the familiar Epistles. (31) Literæ Pseudo-senatus Anglicani, Cromwellii, reliquorum perduellium nomine ac jussu conscriptæ. printed in 1676, in tw. (32) Character of the Long Parliament and of the Assembly of Divines. Lond. 1681, in 2 sheets in qu. In which book is a notable account of their Ignorance, Treachery, and Hypocrisie. (33)* BRIEF HISTORY OF MUSCOVIA AND OF OTHER LESS KNOWN COUNTRIES, LYING EASTWARD *of Russia as far as Cathay, &c. Lond. 1682. oct.*[90] *(34) The right of the People over Tyrants. printed lately in qu.*[91] *These, I think, are all the things that he hath yet extant: those that are not, are* The body of Divinity, *which my friend calls* IDEA THEOLOGIÆ, NOW, OR AT LEAST LATELY, "IN THE HANDS OF" THE AUTHORS ACQUAINTANCE CALLED *Cyr.*[92] SKINNER, LIVING IN MARK LANE LONDON, AND THE Latin Thesaurus IN THOSE OF EDW. PHILIPPS HIS NEPHEW.[93] *At length this great Scholar and frequent Writer* DYING IN HIS HOUSE AT BUNHILL *near London*

[87] No copy dated 1674 is known. Wood may have found this entry in the Term Catalogue for Michaelmas 1673, licensed Nov. 24 (I, 151), but this and the book itself have "upon" where Wood has "on."

[88] So the Term Catalogue for Easter 1674 (I, 172).

[89] Wood augments this title, somewhat misleadingly. He owned (Bodl. Wood 709 and 620.36) the next two items listed (31-32).

[90] So the Term Catalogue for Hillary 1681/2. Aubrey's entry, though not so full, was obviously quoted from a copy of the book itself, and helps to date his "Minutes." See Darbishire ed., p. 9, and also p. 5.

[91] Wood probably noticed this entry in the Term Catalogue for Easter 1691 (II, 361), where the anonymous tract is attributed to Milton and its title similarly abbreviated. (Cf. n. 86, above.) It was not identified in Milton scholarship until 1942; see my "Milton and King James the Second," *Mod. Lang. Quart.*, III (March 1942), 41-44. Wood mentions this tract again on I, col. 885.

[92] Cyriack Skinner does not mention himself in his Life and his Christian name is not mentioned by Aubrey in his jottings on Milton. Aubrey has it, however, in his notes on James Harrington, which Wood used (*Athenæ*, II, col. 439). In both places, by mistaken inference from Aubrey's notes, Wood confuses Cyriack and Daniel Skinner.

[93] Skinner (alone of the early biographers) mentions also a Greek Thesaurus begun by Milton.

"in a fit of the Gout, but with so little pain [. . .], that the time of his expiring was not perceived by those in the room," ON THE NINTH OR TENTH DAY OF NOVEMB. 1674,[94] WAS BURIED IN THE GRAVE OF HIS FATHER (WHO DIED VERY AGED ABOUT 1647)[95] IN THE CHANCEL OF THE CHURCH OF S. GILES NEAR CRIPPLEGATE, LONDON.[96] *See more of him in Sir Walter Raleigh among the Writers numb. 458* [I, col. 373]. "He was of a moderate Stature, and well proportion'd,[97] of a ruddy Complexion, light brown hair, and" had "handsome features," yet "his eyes were none of the quickest." WHEN HE WAS A STUDENT IN CAMBRIDGE "HE WAS SO FAIR" *and clear*, THAT *many* "CALLED HIM THE LADY OF CHRISTS COLL." "His deportment was [. . .][98] affable, and his gate erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness." "On which account he wore a sword while he had his sight, and was skill'd in using it.[99] He had" A "DELICATE TUNEABLE VOICE," "an excellent ear," COULD PLAY ON THE ORGAN, and "bear a part [. . .] in vocal and instrumental Musick." The Estate which his Father left him was but indifferent, yet by his frugality he made it serve him and his. "Out of his Secretaries Salary he" "saved 2000 l. which being lodg'd in the Excise, and that bank failing upon" his Majesties "Restauration, he utterly lost" that sum. "By the great Fire" which hapned in London in *the beginning of Sept.* 1666, "he had a house in Breadstreet burnt, which was all the real Estate" that he had then left. *To conclude*, HE WAS "MORE ADMIRED ABROAD," AND BY FOREIGNERS, "THAN AT HOME"; AND WAS MUCH VISITED BY THEM *when he liv'd in Petty*

[94] Skinner: "in the Yeare 1674."

[95] Aubrey: "his father read wthout spectacles at 84. . . . He dyed about 1647." Skinner carelessly puts the father's death "about thirty yeer before" Milton's, i.e., about 1644. He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn (July 31) only a few months after the father's burial (March 15, 1647).

[96] Skinner also notes that both Milton and his father were buried "in Cripplegate." See n. 95, above.

[97] Aubrey: "a beautifull & well proportioned body . . ."

[98] Skinner: "sweet and . . ."

[99] Also *Def. Sec.*, VIII, 60.

France, SOME OF WHOM HAVE *out of pure devotion*[100] GONE TO BREADSTREET TO "SEE THE HOUSE AND CHAMBER WHERE HE WAS BORN," *&c.*

[100] These words seem, not sarcasm, but additional evidence that Wood is impressed despite himself. Although his political bias causes him to pervert his sources occasionally, he also allows appreciation to come through, gives this non-Oxonian an extraordinary amount of space (almost four columns), and in his own words speaks admiringly of this "man of parts . . . person of wonderful parts . . . rarely endowed by nature . . . this great Scholar . . ."

I am grateful to Professor J. Milton French for a careful reading of these notes and for a number of useful suggestions.

A Bibliographical Novitiate: In Search of Henry James*

By Dan H. Laurence

WHEN Leon Edel invited me, early in 1952, to join him in a collaboration on a Henry James bibliography, we explicitly defined our separate rôles. He was to bring to the collaboration his more than twenty years of Jamesian saturation and his editing skills and to provide materials from the most extensive files of James extant. I, in turn, would provide all the technical know-how of modern bibliographical science. There was just one slight complication. Offhand, I hadn't the vaguest notion what a collation was, let alone how to prepare one. And I was still laboring under the misapprehension that a "signature" was an autograph at the bottom of a bank draft.

I make these latter-day admissions, not to belittle eventual accomplishments and thus imply a nice sense of modesty, but because in this age of do-it-yourself kits, I think a report of my personal bibliographical novitiate may prove of some value to others who contemplate embarking upon the same path. More experienced bibliographers are invited to listen indulgently.

The first rule for the bibliographer, I was to learn, is the same first rule that applies to any scientific endeavor: always be sceptical. Take nothing for granted; seek corroborative evidence. A publisher may be well-intentioned in providing a date of publication, but his records may contain, not the formal date of publication, but the date of copyright (these rarely having been

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 24, 1958.

identical in the case of nineteenth-century publications). The account books of a magazine publisher or editor may clearly record payment to your author for an article or review (such payment is recorded in the account book of Wendell Phillips Garrison of the *Nation* to Henry James for the articles "The Progress of Anthropology" and "The Manners of the Day in Paris"), yet it is possible (as it was in these instances) that your author was only serving as agent for the work of a brother traveling at the time with a scientific expedition in South America. An indexer may record his name as author of a review (James is so noted for a review of a Boston art exhibition of the work of J. Foxcroft Cole in the *Index to the Atlantic Monthly*), but other evidence may disclose that he could not have attended the function under review, being in foreign parts at the date on which it occurred.

My second lesson was that the novice bibliographer must be prepared sooner or later to traverse a dangerous No Man's Land flanked by savage hordes of perennially warring bibliographical experts, clashing over such irreconcilable matters as binding descriptions, standardization of cloth colors, the validity of prepublication firsts, and the proper use of the terms "issue" and "state." One's first impulse will be to tread softly, hold one's breath, and at earliest opportunity run like hell! But the problems cannot be evaded indefinitely; one must eventually take an arbitrary stand of one's own.

In my own case I was moved to take exception to the growing American practice of describing cloths by manufacturers' sample-book letters, preferring to describe explicitly for the reader the embossed finishes applied to the cloths by the engraved rollers of modern manufacturing, recording them by such standard (and therefore readily understandable) terms as sanded, diagonally fine-ribbed, or pebbled. Nor could I, in all conscience, concur with a British bibliographer who recently took quite literally a suggestion by John Carter concerning standardization of cloth

colors by adopting the British Colour Council's *Dictionary of Colours,* leading to such descriptive oddities as peridot green, mushroom calf, and, of all things, petrol blue. While not as recherché as auricula purple or geranium fabroleen (a term foisted upon me by my own publisher), these descriptions seemed to me to fail to perform their desired service of clear identification. River blue, for example, ceases to have validity as a descriptive the moment one recalls that even the Blue Danube is in reality a muddy brown.

My most important lesson, however, was derived from Henry James's injunction to writers in his essay "The Art of Fiction." "Try," he said, "to be one of the people on whom nothing is lost." Seek to develop "the power to guess the unseen from the seen, to trace the implications of things . . ." Chance is always a factor to be reckoned with, but luck increases, I have found, in direct proportion with one's alertness to, and probing of, minute details—no matter how unassuming they may appear on the surface.

Take, for example, a letter from James to Appleton & Co., unearthed in the archives of Appleton-Century-Crofts. Here was a simple request, penned in 1914, for permission to reprint in *Notes on Novelists* two essays that had been written as prefaces for a series of volumes, edited by Edmund Gosse, under the general title "A Century of French Romance." Surely there was little to learn from this letter, which concerned two well-known essays on Balzac and Flaubert that had appeared under the Heinemann imprint in England in 1902 and, several months later, under the Appleton imprint in the United States. Yet instinctively I sensed that something was not quite in order, and after puzzling over the letter briefly I realized that it was to the word "permission" that I had subconsciously been drawn. Under then-existent copyright law the work should have been copyrighted in the country of first publication, and if James found it

necessary to seek authorization from Appleton for the reprint, it should follow that the volumes had first been published in America.

Why, then, would the Heinemann edition have preceded the Appleton, and by several months? A textual comparison of the two editions suggested the answer (which was subsequently substantiated by the Heinemann production records). The Heinemann edition, it turned out, was actually an English issue of the American edition, printed from stereotype moulds. But in one of the volumes, *Madame Bovary*, the text departs from uniformity on page 321, after which numerous excisions occur in the Appleton issue. Since these alterations occurred after the original moulds had been shipped abroad, one may conclude that bowdlerization operations in this volume (and possibly in others in the series which I have not checked) led to a delay of publication in America but not in England, creating the illusion of a British first edition that technically was not a first at all—an illusion dispelled only when the "implication" of an overtly insignificant letter was recognized.

But being a person "on whom nothing is lost" may lead to more intriguing storehouses than office files and library archives and, concomitantly, to non-orthodox patterns of behavior on the part of the inductively reasoning researcher. It was James himself who infused me with a curiosity that led to my most intrepid act of bibliographical sleuthing. For in reading his novels and tales I had been impressed by the frequent reference made to desks with secret panels, particularly one which figured importantly in "Sir Dominick Ferrand," a tale coincidentally of an indefatigable researcher seeking after the papers of a prominent novelist. Then one day in 1953 as I sat in London examining the letters of James to Hugh Walpole, I came upon an hilarious series of references to a desk James was in process of purchasing as a gift for Walpole, a desk which was finickily described in every last minute detail. It struck me then that James seemed to

take an inordinate interest in desks (obviously a most important piece of furniture for a writer), and I suddenly found myself developing an inexplicable fixation about James's own desk. In a letter to Dr. Edel I revealed my theory that James might himself have possessed a writing table with a secret compartment, and that I was going to take the earliest opportunity to satisfy my curiosity. Accordingly, I traveled to Rye and, through the hospitality of its tenant, the late Alice Fullerton, gained access to Lamb House.

Those familiar with James's "The Aspern Papers" will be reminded instantly of the obsessed "publishing scoundrel," insinuating himself into the Venetian manse of the ancient Juliana Bordereau with the intention of laying hands upon the letters of her long-dead poet lover which he is certain are still in her possession. There he stands, lamp in hand in the darkened room, nervously confronting a secretary desk, screwing up his courage to let down the lid. Was history to repeat itself? For there *I* stood —in the James study—and there *it* stood, a monstrous secretary, looming before me. Like my fictional predecessor I hesitated but an instant, then plunged into action, pressing, feeling, fumbling, tapping. I pulled out drawers, measured depths, fingered panels, all the while attempting to ignore the hostile stare of the reproduction of Sargent's portrait which hung on the wall behind me. Then, unexpectedly, the apparently solid bit of wood at the back of a central drawer gave way. James's secret was exposed. My hand trembled as I plunged it into the dark aperture; my fingers closed around something smooth and bulky. Could it be letters? Manuscripts? A diary? Triumphantly I yanked forth my prize—a brown leather wallet, dated in gilt "New York, 1904"—obviously a presentation gift to James upon his return to the American scene. And in it? A few old stamps, an eyeglass prescription, a remedy for gout!

Admittedly this second-story approach to bibliography is unorthodox, unusual, and not especially to be recommended as

standard operating procedure for would-be bibliographers. But the experience does illustrate the value of trying to follow one's intuition to a logical conclusion, even if the result is not in all instances satisfying. For it is impossible to say where any given investigation may lead. It could lead very far indeed—and in totally unexpected directions. In this instance, since it had taken me to Rye, it gave me the opportunity, after departing from Lamb House, to visit the little bookshop of Mr. Gilbert Fabes, who had a few years earlier disposed of James's library, which was now scattered throughout the world. Was it likely that Mr. Fabes still possessed any volumes? It would do no harm to inquire.

It turned out that Mr. Fabes did have a few insignificant items left, but these were at his home. Being a typically hospitable Briton, Mr. Fabes invited me for afternoon tea, and I examined the books. Were these all, I asked, trying to conceal my disappointment. Mr. Fabes assured me they were. But in the course of conversation it developed that, while Mr. Fabes had sold all of James's books which were identifiable by his autograph, a large quantity of unsigned volumes, particularly cheap wrappered editions that could not be sold even for the value of their bindings, had been consigned to a potting shed at the bottom of the garden. I was free to examine these, and to purchase as many as I desired for two shillings each.

The volumes Mr. Fabes had spoken of were indeed cheap and shabby, and not one contained James's autograph. But in quite a few of them, on the back fly-leaf or final text page, I found page references and brief notes which I immediately recognized to be in James's hand, corresponding with what I already knew to be his system of marginal markings. I purchased all I could find, and later examined them more thoroughly. It soon became obvious that there was a pattern to the markings—they appeared primarily in volumes James had reviewed or used in connection with critical articles on authors of the volumes.

Could this mean that volumes so marked, but for which we had

no recorded review or article, had been used for anonymous literary pieces still unidentified? There was one way to find out. I listed the titles, established their approximate publication dates, and began a search in those publications to which James was known to have contributed. Then I checked the pieces I found (in all instances they proved to be reviews) against James's notes and markings, comparing particularly the quoted passages in the reviews with those passages James had signalled in the book margins, after which Dr. Edel checked them against his knowledge of James's style. It was soon evident that the trip to Rye had not, after all, been wasted.

The number of bibliographical hits and runs were, of course, balanced by a substantial number of fumbles and errors. I still blush when I recall the letter that returned from the Boston Post Office labelled "Addressee Unknown"; it was one I had innocently directed to Mr. D. B. Updike, The Merrymount Press. There is the recollection, too, of a hunt for a mysterious edition that proved upon discovery to be quite prosaic. At some time during my explorations I learned that the French translation of James's "Last of the Valerii," which had appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* had been reprinted in a volume with Paul de Musset's "Teeth of a Turk," but I could find no copy of it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, nor mention of it in the French national bibliography. A discussion with one of the Bibliothèque's librarians led to the suggestion that the volume might have been issued, as was so often the custom in that period, with pornographic drawings (Musset's tale offered more possibilities for such illustration than did James's), and this would explain its not receiving official notice.

For several months I explored European pornographic collections, and searched through catalogues and bibliographies of "erotica" and "esoterica," but the knowledge I gained was not exactly the sort I had desired. Then, shortly after I returned home, I received word from William Jackson that Howells' copy

of the book had been presented to the Houghton Library. It proved, upon examination, to contain no illustrations. There was a much simpler explanation for its failure to be recorded in the French national bibliography. Although issued in Paris, the work had been published by G. Paetz in Naumbourg, Germany, and constituted a piracy. But the search had not been a total loss, for it was in the Bodleian's pornographic collection that I unexpectedly located a long-elusive copy of a pamphlet by Vizetelly on the censorship of Zola's works, containing a note by James on *Nana*.

The value of research in general was admirably revealed a few years ago in a fascinating tour-de-force *The Daughter of Time* by Josephine Tey, who almost single-handedly succeeded in upgrading the unpleasant reputation of Richard III by the use of contemporary documentation. "Truth isn't in accounts but in account books," Miss Tey reminded us; "the real history is written in forms not meant as history. In Wardrobe accounts, in Privy Purse expenses, in personal letters, in estate books." I have long since committed these words to memory. Certainly my own experiences have served to confirm Miss Tey's pronouncement.

Much of our Jamesian bibliographical success came inevitably from a perusal of correspondence. Dr. Edel personally possessed transcripts, photostats and notes covering several thousand letters, from which he extracted much publishing history. But there were several thousand more letters neither of us had ever examined, and these we proceeded to track down. Many of them were located in publishers' files (in particular those of Scribner's and Macmillan of London); others came from the files and collections of printers, binders, historical associations, offspring of James's contemporaries, and literary executors. Some letters, such as those to the Edwin Austin Abbeys, proved permanently elusive, but our major disappointments were few, including, so far as I can recall, only this one possibly significant group of letters and a notebook which had belonged to Leslie

Stephen, allegedly containing an identification of authors of the anonymous pieces published in the *Cornhill*. This I knew to have been in the possession of Leonard Huxley at the time he wrote his history of Smith, Elder, but I was never able to trace it further.

The letters established many important points, such as identification of two distinct issues in both the American and English first editions of *A Small Boy and Others*, and the revelation that the privately printed play version of *Daisy Miller* and the tale "The Point of View" had been set up for James by Macmillan in London. They clarified publication dates and helped to explain why James had never discovered the now classic error of reversed chapters in the Harper and subsequent American editions of *The Ambassadors*.

Also invaluable was the multiple copy examination encouraged by one of my many bibliographical mentors. Such examination (achieved through the generous co-operation of the numerous collectors and librarians who entrusted copies to me) led, through variant signature readings and variant conditions of type (a detail acquired from Carter and Pollard), as well as by dated contemporary inscriptions, to establishment of the distinction between first and subsequent impressions of such works as *Watch and Ward* and the American editions of *The Portrait of A Lady* and *The Awkward Age*, which lacked any formal identification by the publisher of a second or subsequent impression.

By now it had become apparent to me that the number of sources for bibliographical information is almost incalculable. Dealers' and auction catalogues, for instance, proved a never-ending source of amazing information. In one catalogue, compiled by David Randall for Scribner's Book Shop, I actually came upon a record of the number of copies for first impression of virtually every James title published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Publishers' records, if extant, are unquestionably valuable sources of information, but so are their bibliographical cata-

logues. For a single example, the *Bibliographical Catalogue of Macmillan & Co.'s Publications from 1843 to 1889* records, not only the number of reprintings of each title, with dates, but even the number of pages of advertisements at the back of each volume and the cancel leaves inserted into volumes at dates subsequent to original publication. Valuable, of course, were the files of the Copyright Office in Washington, but so were the Boston street directories (which made it possible for me to confirm that the Cupples, Upham unauthorized edition of *The Art of Fiction* came first, the Cupples & Hurd issue second, and the DeWolfe, Fiske issue third, simply by their recording the year each of these successive firms came into existence). In one instance, I was able to verify the number of sheets imported from England for the American issue of the *Uniform Tales* by locating copies of the original shipping invoices in the archives of the Boston Customs House. In another instance, the approximate size of edition was established by the royalties statement preserved by the editor of the volume.

One inadvertent discovery made was that the advertisement of one's bibliographical efforts in such traditional ways as a letter to the *New York Times* or *The Times Literary Supplement* or by a circular to principal libraries, collectors, and book dealers is not sufficient. During the first four years of our collaboration Dr. Edel and I received very little voluntary information; we had to keep ferreting it out. Then, just as our publisher made his preliminary announcement of impending publication, resulting in listings in dozens of dealers' catalogues and reports in trade publications, I became ill and the book was delayed for more than a full year. During this period virtually anyone interested in Jamesian bibliography found it announced as "imminent" so frequently that it seemed to drum into his mind the need to report any items of unusual interest which he happened to possess. Letters suddenly began to arrive in sizeable numbers; our unique copy of the privately printed *John Delavoy* gained a twin; a copy of

the first impression of the privately printed play version of *The American* was reported, containing proofmarks for the second impression and revealing the number of copies to be printed of the latter issue. Even our publisher found time to report that a second copy of the long-sought-after Vizetelly pamphlet, mentioned earlier, was to be located in his own library—one avenue of research I had overlooked!

For six years Leon Edel and I labored, and in the seventh year I had assumed I might rest. In fact, a year or two ago my only source of consolation was the thought that we were nearing completion and that I would soon be able to rid myself forever of the headaches of bibliographizing. But I had yet another lesson to learn—in bibliography once bitten is not twice shy. Bibliography is apparently a chronic disease for which there is no known cure. And in the long run James proved to be only as formidable as Annapurna. Everest is yet to be scaled. I am now at work on the bibliography of Bernard Shaw—and learning every day how much I still have to learn.

On the Authorship of the *Turkish Spy*: An *État Présent*

By Joseph E. Tucker

SEEKING the identity of the authors of the *Turkish Spy*[1] has been fair scholarly sport ever since the appearance in 1684 of the first volume of the collection. Two centuries and a half later much still remains uncertain, but sufficient further documentation has been discovered, and enough earlier hypotheses shown to be unfounded, to merit a re-examination of the whole question.

A well-honored tradition followed by many bibliographical works and library catalogues ascribes all the volumes of the *Turkish Spy* to Gian Paolo (or: Jean-Paul) Marana, a Genoese, who spent several years (c. 1682 to c. 1689) in Paris as a political refugee at the court of Louis XIV. He is certainly not the author of the entire undertaking, however, and it is probable that only a relatively small portion of the correspondence is from his pen.

French and English scholars appear to have all too frequently approached the problem of attribution from a regrettably national angle. It is certain that Italian-French[2] and English collaboration is involved, and so an adequate review of the data available must look to either side of the Channel.

[1] The model for Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* and a host of other similar fictitious correspondences in various eighteenth-century literatures. Its French title was first: *L'Espion du Grand Seigneur . . .*, later simply: *L'Espion turc*. The English collection was known as *Letters writ by a Turkish Spy who liv'd five and forty years undiscover'd at Paris . . .*

[2] While Marana was of Italian birth and wrote in Italian, his major concern was France; all of his writing which interests us here was done in Paris, and most of the letters which can be identified with certainty as from his pen were published first in French (and have never appeared in Italian).

In the way of water-tight ascriptions we can point only to the first 102 letters as by Marana. His certain contribution is included in the three small volumes published in Paris in 1684 and 1686 and which carry his name on the title-pages and include dedicatory epistles signed by him. There is sufficient collateral evidence, notably letters to and from his eminently trustworthy protector, Pidou de Saint-Olon[3] and a comment by the royal censor, François Charpentier,[4] to remove any of the doubts raised by ill-informed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English critics as to Marana's claim to these first letters.

These first 102 letters form an ensemble that is considerably different in tone from the greatly expanded version which kept growing in the years 1696-1756. An eloquent proof of this difference is to be found in the fact that Marana's collection of 102 letters, *L'Espion du Grand Seigneur*, was, so far as I can discover, never put on the *Index* by the church authorities, while the fuller version which appeared under the title *L'Espion dans les cours des princes chrétiens*, was firmly fixed there by decrees of January 9 and May 11, 1705, March 2, 1706, and March 4, 1709.

After Marana we come into the field of less sure ascriptions. A good case can be made, certainly, for some sixty-three letters[5] claimed for Daniel Defoe, whose share in the enterprise has hitherto been generally overlooked. These letters, since they were never included in any of the regular English sets of the *Turkish Spy*, have been neglected, and no commentator seems to have been aware that from 1742 on, part of the French text was probably from the pen of the author of *Robinson Crusoe*. Defoe's indefatigable and respected bibliographer, Professor John Rob-

[3] MS 6829, f. 208-209 and f. 212-213, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

[4] *Carpentariana* . . . (Paris, 1724), see especially pp. 29-31. Therein Charpentier who had himself, many years earlier, been assigned to censor Marana's work, states: "Marana . . . est auteur de *l'Espion turc*."

[5] Published first (and only once) in London as the *Continuation of Letters Written by a Turkish Spy at Paris* . . . of 1718, a separate volume from the regular English set, but included in the 1742 and subsequent editions in French as part of the regular series.

ert Moore, has written me recently: "The evidence for Defoe's authorship is solely internal, but it is quite sufficient. The book is unusually *thin* for him, but it is certainly his. And it does not involve what Dottin calls 'contributions' to a 'miscellany.' It is a perfectly coherent work, very similar to another quasi-Oriental book of Defoe's in the previous year: *The Conduct of Christians made the Sport of Infidels. In a Letter from a Turkish Merchant at Amsterdam to the Grand Mufti at Constantinople.* . . . Apparently Defoe hoped for a profitable venture and (as in several other ventures at this very time) a chance to present the Government's point of view regarding previous and current events." At the time of the publication of the *Continuation* in August 1718, the bookseller advertised it as to be continued annually, but, as Professor Moore reports, "The venture itself was dropped (like several other journalistic and historical ventures of Defoe's) in the blaze of success which followed the publication of *Crusoe* on April 25, 1719."

Beyond these ascriptions for 165 of the letters we fall into a real *panier de crabes* in trying to identify the authors of the over 500 other letters, almost all of which, it should be noted, were first published in English. There is only slight evidence to connect Marana's name with any of them. In the preface to his first volume of 1684 he promises "plus de cinq cens lettres," and in the preface to a later, different work he speaks of

> les plaintes qu'on me fait de toutes parts, de ce que suivant ma promesse, je ne donne pas au public la continuation de mon *Espion du Grand Seigneur* . . . Les difficultez que j'y ay rencontrées, soit par la lenteur de ceux qui me font l'honneur de traduire les relations de Mamut Arabe, soit par les longeurs ordinaires des réviseurs de livres, soit enfin par d'autres obstacles secrets, sont cause que depuis trois ans, environ une douzaine de petits volumes qui sont achevez en ma langue, ne le sont pas encor en la vôtre.[6]

That Marana's difficulties with the censors were real can be

[6] *Les Evenements les plus considérables du règne de Louis le grand* (Paris, 1690).

attested to by, first, a letter from his protector, the French Ambassador, Pidou de Saint-Olon, who writes Marana in 1684 on the occasion of the appearance of the first volume to reproach him for taking therein "une occasion peu nécessaire de parler irrespectueusement des mystères de notre religion."[7] In his reply, Marana is obviously upset by the possible consequences which Pidou sees, and tries to disculpate himself in saying "se io pretendo di tradurre tutto il ministerio dell'arabo devo osservare la fidelta."[8] The reproaches became official, nonetheless, and in his memoirs published many years later, the Royal Censor François Charpentier prints a written promise he had extracted from Marana in 1686 wherein the latter stated that "M. Charpentier, commis par Monseigneur le Chancelier pour la révision dudit manuscrit [i.e., *L'Espion*], ne m'a accordé son certificat pour l'impression dudit manuscrit, qu'à condition d'oster quatre endroits . . ."[9]

It is possible, then, that Marana continued the series but was unable to get official sanction for its publication in France, due to the increasingly severe censorship. But even if we grant that Marana's continuation was written, I do not believe that this is the same text which has come down to us in the augmented text of the *Turkish Spy*. The rabidly anticlerical tone of the later letters sounds very different indeed from that of the protégé of Père LaChaise and Bishop Harlay de Champvallon that Marana was.[10]

The publication of Marana's whole long series, but in the Italian original and in Italy, is given as a *fait accompli* in a "Letter from Mr. Daniel Saltmarsh . . ." first published in 1692 as a preface to the second volume of the English edition. Therein the au-

[7] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6829, f. 208-209.

[8] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6829, f. 212-213.

[9] *Carpentariana* . . . , pp. 29-31.

[10] In this connection it would be well to note the vigorous defense of Marana's orthodoxy made by his biographer Dreux du Radier in the *Journal de Verdun*, LXXVI (1754), 281-282.

thor tells a long tale of having come upon the Italian edition in a private library in Italy and of his having secured copies from which the purported English translation was to be made. The whole tale would ring more true if any trace whatsoever of such a published complete Italian version could be found. No such volumes have ever been discovered, and most people who have looked into the problem have supposed that the Saltmarsh letter was a hoax pulled off by the London publisher in the hope of giving his original English texts a certain exotic appeal and perhaps even a truer ring of authenticity.

One should perhaps mention the possibility that the augmented version of the *Espion turc* came out of the French refugee *milieu* in Holland. It is a possibility that I would disallow, however, for if this be its source why was no local publisher found immediately for it in French, and why did French readers have to wait five years after the English version, until 1696, for an edition in French?

A tradition long-honored in France lists one Cotolendi as either the author of the later volumes or the collaborator of Marana therein. "Dans une partie de son oeuvre [i.e., *l'Espion*]," writes Elie Carcassonne, "Marana eut pour collaborateur Cotolendi."[11] So far as I have been able to discover, the sole authority for this attribution is Bernard de la Monnoye, who in a letter which can be dated c. 1720 writes:

> Un Italien nommé Maranci [*sic*] est l'inventeur de *l'Espion turc* . . . Jamais livre ne s'est mieux débité. On en fit d'abord une traduction française et certain gentilhomme du Comtat . . . en a depuis donné une suite en deux volumes. Il est ici établi, âgé comme moi de quatre-vingts ans . . . Son nom est Cotolendi . . .[12]

Is it not strange, though, that the authorship of such a popular work should go unmentioned in all of Cotolendi's acknowledged

[11] E. Carcassonne ed. of the *Lettres persanes* (Paris, 1929), I, xviii.

[12] Bernard de la Monnoye, *Oeuvres choisies* . . . (Dijon et La Haye, 1769-1770), III, 197-198.

works, and equally strange that no other contemporaries point to Cotolendi as Marana's collaborator? There is, however, one further bit of evidence which may connect Cotolendi with *l'Espion*, though it is a flimsy bit, turning upon a disputed attribution. To summarize a very complicated problem, let us say that if Cotolendi is really the author of *Saint-Evremoniana* (Paris, 1700)—as the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for instance, lists him—then there may indeed be some real connection between Cotolendi and Marana's work. For it has not been pointed out before, I believe, that there is a very certain interrelation between the well-known "Lettre d'un Sicilien," first published in the *Saint-Evremoniana*, and two works from Marana's own pen: (1) the early pages of Volume I of *l'Espion*, and (2) an unpublished manuscript entitled "Le piu nobili azioni della vita e regno di Luiggi il Grande," (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS F. Ital. 867). The similarities in the text are in no sense a question of extended borrowings. They are rather only in detailed turns of phrase, but they are clear and prove at least that the author of the "Lettre d'un Sicilien," whoever he was, knew Marana's text and borrowed from it.

But the attribution of the *Saint-Evremoniana* to Cotolendi is a very shaky one indeed,[13] and even when we add this bit of evidence to La Monnoye's statement we have very little authority for listing Cotolendi as one of the authors of *l'Espion*.

The last edition to appear in French, that dated 1756 and bearing an Amsterdam imprint, has appended to it twenty-nine letters[14] which carry the correspondence forward to 1697 and which are to be found in no other edition. This part of the Spy's communications is in no way outstanding, and simply embroiders on themes treated in earlier volumes. I have been unable to discover any evidence as to its authorship.

[13] The Abbé Valentin Dufour in his 1883 edition of the "Lettre . . ." assigns it to Marana, but his reasons are not very convincing and most scholars have not adopted them.

[14] They are found in Vol. IX, pp. 255-376.

If in France we can point to only one or two contenders for the rôle of Marana's collaborator, how very different is the situation in England. For on the other side of the Channel the candidates are numerous, and a full consideration of the claims of each would fill a substantial volume. Here we must be content with a brief summary. This procedure can be all the more easily justified in that an extended treatment of most of the English claims was made over a century ago in a series of letters printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This spirited controversy which extended over the years 1840-1842 was set off by Henry Hallam's statement in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* that he was "inclined to claim for England not the invention, but, for the most part, the composition of . . . *The Turkish Spy*."[15] In the course of the ensuing discussion and the resultant comments the names of at least seven claimants are set forth: Sir Roger Manley (the father of Mrs. Manley, the novelist), Dr. Robert Midgely (Licenser of the Press) and his brother John, a quite different Robert Midgeley (sometime Cambridge scholar), the hack-writers William Bradshaw and Sault, and finally Dr. Charles Fraser (or Fraizer).

Of these, Manley can be ruled out, since the only share claimed for him by his daughter—the early letters of the Spy's correspondence—has been proved Marana's. Sault's sole claim to being a collaborator in the undertaking is based on Dr. Johnson's error[16] in saying that John Dunton has so reported in his *Life and Errors*. Dunton makes no such statement. The claims of the others listed above are based on hearsay and no one yet has brought forth any substantial proof linking any of them definitely with the actual writing of the letters. The closest we come to documentary proof is a transcription, found in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*,[17] of a conveyance of the copyright of the *Turkish Spy*, dated

[15] IV (Paris, 1839), 317.

[16] Boswell's *Life*, ed. Roger Ingpen (Boston, 1925), III, 1006.

[17] (London, 1812), I, 413.

1693, signed by Dr. Robert Midgely and assigning it to the publishers Hindmarsh, Sare, and Rhodes. In commenting on the document, Nichols writes: "He [Midgely] first says: *translated, written,* and *composed by himself.* Afterwards: *written originally in Arabick, translated into Italian, and from thence into English.* Last of all he calls himself the sole author of these copies or books." The statement so contradicts the few known facts, and is so self-contradictory that it simply confuses the issue. Its only real value is to let us know that Midgely owned the copyright until 1693, and had some rôle—perhaps only that of editorial supervision—in the publication of the English version. His claims as author were disputed by his contemporary, John Dunton, who assigns the authorship to William Bradshaw.[18] Dunton himself, however, can offer no solid proof for his assertion and gives us nothing more than hearsay.

If the external evidence as to authorship now available does not appear at all conclusive, one might hope for some enlightenment from internal evidence in the text itself. Henry Hallam attempted to bolster his claims for English authorship on such a basis, pointing out that volumes 2-8 of the *Turkish Spy* have "a skeptical, or at least a wandering tone in religion, characteristic of the reign of William III, but not so much of the continental writers."[19] The statement is inconclusive and does not reveal a very intimate knowledge of French thought in the later years of Louis XIV when indeed, as Paul Hazard has so well pointed out, the "skeptical, or at least wandering tone in religion" was rampant. And so, one of Hallam's chief arguments is completely unconvincing.

The arguments of Hallam's adversaries in the *Gentleman's Magazine* controversy, notably of one who signs himself "J.R." and of Bolton Corney, appear, at first consideration, considerably more persuasive. They point out in their communications that

[18] *Life and Errors of John Dunton* (London, 1705), p. 242.

[19] *Gent. Mag.*, N.S. XV (1841), 151.

English affairs are accorded no special place of prominence in the *Spy*, indeed that "ten times more space is allotted to French affairs, and fifty times more to continental occurrences generally, than to what was passing in England during the most eventful and interesting epoch of her history,"[20] that English transactions are sometimes inaccurately reported, and finally that things in English are treated therein with no particular tone of sympathy.

But before we reject the claims of English authorship for the greater part of the *Turkish Spy*, we must remember that in its very basic design, as created by Marana and respected by his successors, the book was meant to concentrate on France and to give more summary treatment to other countries. We might well note here that even those letters almost certainly by the Englishman Defoe fall in with the original plan and keep the spotlight clearly directed on France. So the objection that England gets no special rôle does not seem conclusive.

The pointing out of historical inaccuracies concerning matters English may well have been over-exaggerated; (these are mostly on question of minutiae and cannot be considered here). I am inclined to fall back of the defense Hallam made on this same point: that the *Turkish Spy* was written for the "common reader" and not for the historical specialist.[21]

The charge that England is accorded no special tone of sympathy cannot, I believe, be proved. It is true that there is little in the *Turkish Spy* which would brand it as obviously a work of pro-English propaganda. But there are occasional English "leanings" apparent therein, as a little documentation in detail will show.

A certain amount of evidence in favor of English authorship of the later letters may be gathered by a comparison of the texts of Marana's first 102 letters as they appeared in French in Paris (1684, 1686 [3 eds.], 1689, and 1690) and Amsterdam (1684,

[20] *Gent. Mag.*, N.S. XV (1841), 366.

[21] See the *Gent. Mag.*, N.S. XV (1841), 151.

1688, and 1696) on the one hand, with the text of the same letters as they appeared in Volume I of the English version, first published in London in 1687, and in the French translation made directly from the English version and published in 1696 with the imprint "A Cologne. Chez Erasme Kinkius."[22]

It will be noted that two different editions in French of the same letters appeared in 1696: the Amsterdam (called: *L'Espion du Grand Seigneur* . . .) and the Cologne (*L'Espion dans les cours des princes chretiens* . . .) copies. A comparison of the two is revealing. While, with one exception, the English version of 1687 had followed the order of Marana's letters (and that found in the 1696 Amsterdam edition), the Cologne Kinkius text (translated directly from the English, but compared, as a close confronting of the texts shows, with Marana's French copy of 1684-1686) pretty thoroughly scrambles the order of the letters. Only a question of getting around charges of copyright infringement may be involved. It is possible, though, that "Kinkius" wanted his greatly augmented version (in 1696-1699 it passed to six volumes) considered a completely new and different undertaking. There are a few significant changes in the new French text of the early letters, changes which do not fit the tone of Marana's original prose but which are exactly in the tone of the continuation. And so, in altering Marana's early French version by offering a new translation the tone of which was more pro-English, the "Cologne" publishers may have wanted to dissociate Marana completely from the expanded work.

When the Marana letters were put into English, only one letter was omitted: number ninety-nine which, let us note, concerned Charles I and the English Revolution. Marana's successors replaced this by a completely different letter on the same subject which was placed at the beginning of their addition. The

[22] Most of the editions in French of the augmented *Espion turc* bear this fictitious imprint. The little that I have been able to discover about Kinkius leads me to believe that this was probably a name used by Amsterdam and Rouen clandestine printers. "Erasme Kinkius" was hence probably a minor "Pierre Marteau."

tone of the two letters is entirely different. Whereas Marana's is very favorable to the English King, calling him "un fort bon prince et fort sage," and hostile to the Puritans and to Parliament and "ses excès," the text by his successors slants history quite differently—condemns Charles, deplores the French *suite* of Henrietta Maria, and Richelieu's machinations at the English court, but paints the English Parliament in a generally favorable light. This change can only have been dictated by a pro-English, liberal bias.

The excision of a long, eulogistic passage treating Richelieu the religious leader[23] and the softening of another where Marana had judged very severely the Protestant stronghold of Geneva are evidence of the Protestant orientation of the English translators here. It should be noted that in all these changes noted above, the Kinkius French text remains close to the English rather than reverting to Marana's quite different sentiments on the same questions.

The attitudes on certain other religious questions expressed in the post-Marana letters are certainly more characteristic of the English scene *circa* 1690 than of the court of Louis XIV. Whereas Marana's Espion revels in tolerance and a vague sweet reasonableness in his religious beliefs (almost any liberal Catholic might have accepted most of his statements), the later Spy strikes out much more boldly and confesses himself a Deist, saying: ". . . il ne me paraît aucune raison d'appeler ces gens-là athées ou infidèles. Ils méritent plutôt la qualité de philosophes, ou amateurs de la sagesse ou de la verité. C'est d'eux que j'ai appris à ne m'en laisser pas imposer en matière de religion." (1739: IV, 166). These same unfettered beliefs are repeated many times in the later letters and seem to mark them as of English origin where, in the later seventeenth, as Paul Hazard has said "le déisme prolifie et prospère . . . ouvertement, et comme sur la place publique, des débats s'élèvent entre ses tenants et

[23] 1686: III, 267-270; Eng. (1753), I, 273; Fr. (1739), I, 350.

ses opposants" while in the same period in France, "il n'a guère vécu que dans l'ombre."[24]

The comments on the Quietists give some further indications in the same direction. It was, if I am not mistaken, an *English* attitude to look on Molinos and the Quietists as Protestants *manqués*, and this view is exactly that of the Espion. Defoe's *Spy* puts rather more succinctly the same view that had been expressed in several earlier letters (notably 1739: V, 487-488, VI, 7, 167-171) in saying that the essence of Molinos' doctrine was "against all their ecclesiastic frippery, by which they carry on the cheat of their religion at Rome among the people, and from whence they spread the fraud over the world."[25]

I have given serious consideration to the possibility that the later volumes of the *Turkish Spy* came out of the Jacobite refugee circle which took up its residence at the Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye early in 1689. It is a tempting thesis, with many points to support it. The chronology fits perfectly, for the earliest of the post-Marana letters appeared in the second volume of the English set, first published in 1691. The warm praise of Louis XIV, of his courage and "greatness of spirit" (VI, 99) might appear to be compliments due a gracious host. The severe condemnation of the English for the beheading of Charles I (IV, 284) and their characterization as "receptive of any foreign impression," and as "fickle as the wind, and as moveable as the dust it raises in the street" (VIII, 184, 185) are sentiments that one might expect to find among the followers of the deposed James II. An additional persuasive argument may be based on the detailed description of the gardens at Saint-Germain (II, 211-214), for is it not curious that one of the very few gardens which Mahmut chooses to describe should be precisely the one surrounding the castle which housed James and his court?

The whole structure comes tumbling down, however, if we

[24] *La Crise de la conscience européenne*, II, 25, 26.

[25] Defoe's *Continuation* . . . , p. 272.

look more closely at some of the other sentiments expressed in the same volumes. The attacks on the Catholic church, on its beliefs, ceremonies, clergy, religious orders—attacks which are a constant theme throughout the later volumes—are in no sense what would be expected from subjects of the arch-Catholic James, himself a guest of the *roi très chrétien.*

The only way to explain away the wide divergence here in points of view would be to admit the possibility of a collaboration. Eighteenth-century French critics in any case considered the ensemble of the Spy's correspondence, as Fréron says in his *Année littéraire,* "l'ouvrage de plusieurs mains,"[26] and there is some internal evidence to support this judgment. An almost unique slip in the narrative such as announcing the death of the Spy's mother, and then, in a later letter, including her as among those present at a gathering in Paris, may be an example of one writer's absentmindedness, but it appears more likely that it is the result of more than one hand working on the text. Certain differences in attitudes may be the result of the same. The English nation in general, and the Huguenots—to mention two important instances—are judged quite differently in letters scattered through the correspondence, sometimes quite favorably, other times rather harshly. Collaboration there certainly must have been, but the combination of a refugee Jacobite and a rabidly anticlerical English Deist seems an unlikely one.

What then can be our conclusions in this intricate question of the authorship of the *Turkish Spy*? Certainty exists only in the case of the first 102 letters which are Marana's. The sixty-three letters of the 1718 English *Continuation* have been identified pretty surely as Defoe's. As far as external evidence is concerned, the documentation available at present allows no other specific attributions, either French or English. Internal evidence, though,

[26] 1757, II, 43-48. See also the Marquis d'Argens' *Nouvelle bibliothèque* . . . XV (1743), 350-351 and the Abbé de la Porte's *Nouvelle bibliothèque d'un homme de goût,* IV, 388.

seems to indicate English rather than French or Italian authorship for most of the correspondence, but in an age when the *Republique des lettres* had many international citizens it still seems unsafe to make any too positive assertions.[27]

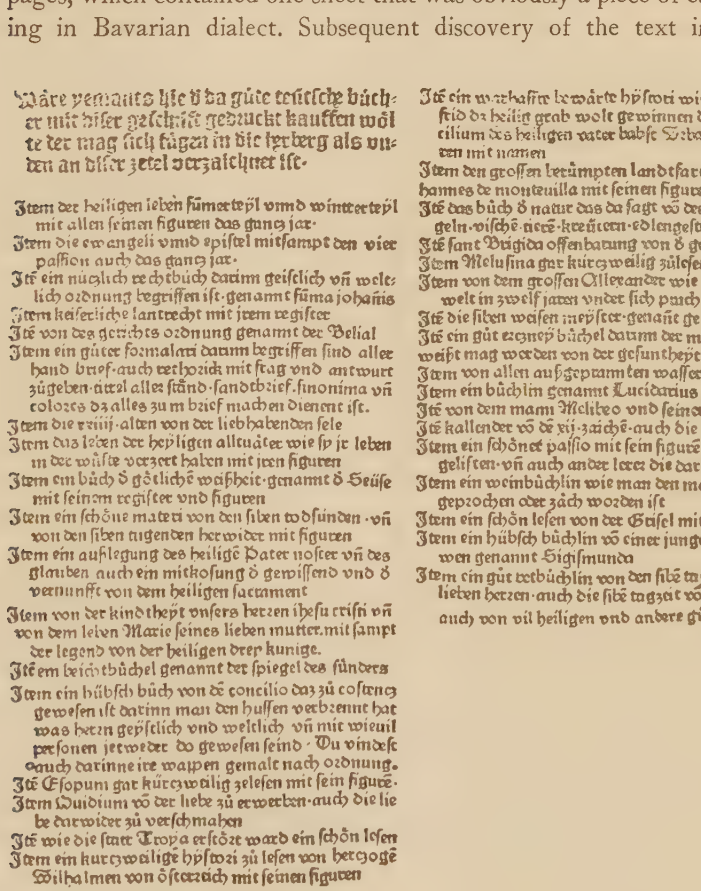
[27] I have made a more general study of the significance of this work in my article, "*The Turkish Spy* and its French Background," which is scheduled for early publication in the *Revue de Littérature comparée.*

William H. McBurney's "The Authorship of *The Turkish Spy*" (*PMLA*, LXXII [Dec., 1957] 915-935), appeared after the present article had gone to press. While working with much of the same material, Mr. McBurney reaches different conclusions.

Bibliographical Notes

A Variant Specimen of Anton Sorg's "Bücheranzeige" of 1483-1484

Several weeks before the outbreak of World War II in 1939 the writer purchased in Munich a bundle of fragments of vellum and paper MS pages, which contained one sheet that was obviously a piece of early printing in Bavarian dialect. Subsequent discovery of the text in Götze's


Wäre yemants yle ö da güte teütſche bücher mit diſer geſchrifft gedruckt kauffen wöl te der mag ſich fügen in die herberg als unden an diſer zetel verzaichnet iſt.

Item der heiligen leben ſümertepl vmb wintertepl mit allen ſeinen figuren das gantz jar.
Item die ewangeli vmb epiſtel mitſampt den vier paſſion auch das gantz jar.
Itē ein nützlich rechtbuch darinn geiſtlich vñ weltlich ordnung begriffen iſt. genannt ſüma johannis
Item kaiſerliche lantrecht mit irem regiſter
Itē von des gerichts ordnung genannt der Belial
Item ein güter formalari darinn begriffen ſind aller hand brief. auch vertzaichnis mit frag vnd antwurt zügeben. ärtzt aller ſtänd. ſandtbrief. ſinonima vñ colores da alles zu m brief machen dienent iſt.
Item die xviij. alten von der liebhabenden ſele
Item das leben der heyligen alltvätter wie ſy jr leben in der wüſte verzert haben mit iren figuren
Item ein büch ö göttlichē waßheit. genannt ö Seüſe mit ſeinem regiſter vnd figuren
Item ein ſchöne materi von den ſiben todſünden. vñ von den ſiben tugenden herwider mit figuren
Item ein auflegung des heiligē Pater noſter vñ des glauben auch ein mitholung ö gewiſſend vnd ö vernunfft von dem heiligen ſacrament
Item von der kindheyt vnſers herren ihesu criſti vñ von dem leiden Marie ſeines lieben mutter. mit ſampt der legend von der heiligen drey kunige.
Itē ein beichtbüchel genannt der ſpiegel des ſünders
Item ein hübſch büch von dē concilio das zů coſtentz geweſen iſt darinn man den huſſen verbrennt hat was herren geiſtlich vnd weltlich vñ mit wieuil perſonen jetweder do geweſen ſeind. Du vindeſt auch darinne ire wappen gemalt nach ordnung.
Itē Eſopum gar kürtzweilig zeleſen mit ſein figurē.
Item Ouidium vō der liebe zů erwerben. auch die liebe darwider zů verſchmahen
Itē wie die ſtatt Troya erſtört ward ein ſchön leſen
Item ein kurtzweiligē hyſtori zů leſen von hertzogē Wilhalmen von öſterreich mit ſeinen figuren
Itē ein warhafftig bewärte hyſtori wie hertzog gott frid dz heilig grab wolt gewinnen durch ein concilium des heiligen vater babſt Urbanus des andern mit namen
Item den groſſen ertzumpten landtfarer genannt johannes de monteuilla mit ſeinen figuren
Itē das büch ö natur das da ſagt vō dem menſchē. vō geln. viſchē. ertzē. kreütern. edlengeſtei in ö gemein
Itē ſant Brigida offenbarung von ö gepurd ö welt.
Item Meluſina gar kürtzweilig zůleſen mit figuren.
Item von dem groſſen Allerander wie der die gantzē welt in zwelf jaren vnder ſich pracht.
Itē die ſiben weiſen meyſter genañt geſta romanorū
Itē ein güt erzneyē büchel darinn der menſch vil vnd weißt mag werden von der geſuntheyt ſeines leibes.
Item von allen außgetrumten waſſern
Item ein büchlin genannt Lucidarius
Itē von dem mann Meliboeo vnd ſeiner haußfrawen
Itē kallender vō dē xij. zaichē. auch die vier cōplexiō
Item ein ſchöner paſſio mit ſein figurē ö vier ewangeliſten. vñ auch ander lerer die darüber ſchrabēd
Item ein weinbüchlin wie man den machen ſol ſo er gepzochen oder zäch worden iſt
Item ein ſchön leſen von der Griſel mit iren figuren.
Item ein hübſch büchlin vō einer jungen edlen frawen genannt Sigiſmunda
Item ein güt betbüchlin von den ſibē tagzeit vnſers lieben herren. auch die ſibē tagzeit vō vnſer frawe auch von vil heiligen vnd andere güte gepet

Frühneuhochdeutsches Lesebuch[1] identified the leaf as the famous and very rare *Einblattdruck* of Anton Sorg at Augsburg in 1483-1484, listing descriptions of books from his press.

The text of this broadside book catalogue is given in full by Georg Caspar Mezger in 1840 in his work on early printing in Augsburg,[2] where he says that the specimen in the local (Augsburg) library is to be considered a rarity.

Konrad Burger, in his *Buchhändleranzeigen des 15. Jahrhunderts in getreuer Nachbildung*[3] remarks that this list is among the most interesting of those which have come down to us; that it is especially valuable in that it lists a large number of works of German literature of every type.

Adolf Schmidt, in an article in 1930, notes that Burger in 1907 knew only the impression preserved in Augsburg, which was damaged to the extent of what he thought was the loss of one line. The chief reason for Schmidt's article is to report his discovery of two fragments taken from the binding of an incunabulum in the *Landesbibliothek* at Darmstadt. These two fragments (two halves, the slight overlapping of which proves that they are from two different specimens) make up a complete example and prove that two lines, and not one, are missing from the Augsburg specimen.[4]

Schmidt also points out that a fragment containing the last fourteen lines (evidently also from a binding) had turned up in the Bavarian State Library in Munich; and he notes that according to the *Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, another copy should be in the collection of Dr. Charles L. Nichols in Worcester, Massachusetts.[5]

The discussion here of the texts known heretofore, and of the new one in question is concerned essentially with items twelve and thirteen. Item twelve describes what is identified by Schmidt as: *Büchlein von der Kindheit und dem Leiden Christi.* 13. August 1481, Hain *4058.[6] Item thirteen describes Hans Münzinger: *Von dem sterbenden Menschen.* Schmidt says

[1] Alfred Götze, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Lesebuch* (Göttingen, 1925), pp. 14-16.

[2] G. C. Mezger, *Augsburgs älteste Druckdenkmale und Formschneiderarbeiten, welche in der vereinigten königl. Kreis- und Stadtbibliothek aufbewahrt werden* (Augsburg, 1840), p. 7.

[3] (Leipzig, 1907), p. 12.

[4] Adolf Schmidt, "Bücheranzeige von Anton Sorg in Augsburg 1483/1484," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1930, 119-125.

[5] No copy is registered by Margaret B. Stillwell, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1940).

[6] P. 122. See description in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* 9249.

that Sorg published this work twice and that here is probably meant Hain *11628.[7]

The last line of number twelve and nearly all of thirteen (which occupies only one line) make up the damaged portion of the Augsburg copy. Schmidt's Darmstadt fragment gives us the reconstruction: Item von der kindheÿt vnsers herren jhesu cristi vñ seiner lieben mo̊uter Marie. genannt vita xp̄i.

Mezger and Götze would indicate that this reading was previously unknown. Mezger did not attempt to reconstruct the damaged parts (he breaks off with the word *cristi*) and miswrote *herzen* for *herren* because of the presence in the word of both types of *r* in use at that time. Götze writes *herren* correctly, but erroneously reconstructs the last line of item twelve. He is led astray by a small fragment of the line representing item thirteen. It should be mentioned that the crimped state of the paper around the damaged part helps to give the illusion that only one line was missing.

Description thirteen in Schmidt's half page reads: Item ein schŏns lesen von dem sterbenden menschen. Inasmuch as a small remaining part of the word *schŏns* is on a level with the line above, Götze makes out of it the form *Johs.*, so that his version reads: Item von der kindheyt vnsers herren jhesu cristi vñ *Johs.* genannt *vita xp̄i.* It is evident that Götze relied upon a transcription and never saw the original or a photographic reproduction. Had he ever seen either of these, the improbability of his guess in reconstructing the damaged part would have been obvious. Since the first line ends with *vñ* the fragment of *schŏns* would have had to be at the beginning of the next line (i.e. in line with all other continuations), which is not the case. He also fails to take into account a remaining fragment of the word *menschen.* Then too, had Götze seen the original, *vita xp̄i* would probably not have appeared in Roman type, but in the *Fraktur* used throughout the text. Needless to say, item thirteen is found in neither Mezger's nor Götze's transcription.

And now the reading of the copy in question. Item twelve reads: Item von der kindheÿt vnsers herren jhesu cristi vñ von dem leben Marie seines (*sic*) lieben mutter. mit sampt der legend von der (*sic*) heiligen drei kunige (*sic*).

The misspelled words in item twelve constitute what would be grammatical errors. Other minor variants on the page (some of which could be due to poor inking or broken type) are nearly all of the same nature, e.g. the differing presence or absence of a *Nasalstrich* or a superscript um-

[7] Copy in the Huntington Library, Stillwell *Census* M 746.

lauting vowel.[8] From these one might suppose that this copy were an uncorrected proof sheet, but this is improbable. Hardly more than one proof would have been pulled, and had it survived, it most probably would show corrections. It is, however, noteworthy that an odd piece of paper has been used for the impression. The sheet is ruled by hand in ink in two columns on both sides, in a manner that indicates the intention of its being used for a carefully written MS, whereas the printing on the one side in no way corresponds with the ruling.

Inasmuch as the Augsburg and Darmstadt copies are of the same printing, the question arises as to whether this variant is earlier or later than these. The writer, as a result of his correspondence with Dr. Curt F. Bühler, has come to feel that there is little doubt that this copy is the earlier one; and he is greatly indebted to Dr. Bühler for his valuable advice on this point.

If this state is earlier, it follows that Sorg altered item twelve in order to insert item thirteen in the other variant. Dr. Bühler feels that a printer would go to a good deal of trouble to insert the title of a book that he had for sale and had forgotten to advertise, lest he lose a potential customer. But he would go to no trouble at all to delete a book in which he, at least for the time being, was out of stock. When Sorg glanced over the advertisement, he probably noted that he had omitted the Münzinger item. It had to be inserted among the religious books and not added at the end with the "popular" works. One might speculate with the idea that the size of his press required that he delete one line in order to insert this title and so chopped down item twelve to a two-line entry. Dr. Bühler finds it puzzling that Sorg should add the note "genannt vita xpi," which it certainly was not. He wonders if he was trying to give the impression that this was a translation of the work of that title by Ludolphus de Saxonia. Perhaps already here is an example of a well-known bookseller's trick, still in use today.

The assumption that this copy is a later state could be made on the conjecture that Sorg did go to the trouble to delete the title *Von dem Sterbenden Menschen* because it was out of print. Since according to Schmidt this book was published twice, it must have been a popular item and may well have been sold out. If Sorg did remove it he then filled in the space with the more elaborate description of item twelve, which agrees with

[8] These are: col. 1, line 4 up, verschmahen, Burger-Schmidt—verschmähen; col. 1, line 2 up, kurczweiligē, Burger-Schmidt—kurczweilige; col. 2, line 10 up, schönet, Burger-Schmidt—schöner; col. 2, line 2 up, frawe, Burger-Schmidt—frawē.

the colophon given in Hain.[9] Such a hypothesis suggests that the Augsburg copy may have been used after the Darmstadt copy, the damaged lines resulting from their being scraped out after the first printing was exhausted.

SAM FOLLETT ANDERSON

University of Kansas

The First Publication of Leigh Hunt's "Love Letters Made of Flowers"

Ascertaining the first publication of individual poems is sometimes difficult, especially during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Annuals and gift-books as well as newspapers and magazines have to be considered as possible locations for the first appearance of any individual piece of writing by an author. In the case of Leigh Hunt, who apparently did not contribute very often to the annuals,[1] the problem is not acute, but he did now and then give some of his work to them. He was in constant financial straits during the eighteen-twenties and thirties, and he probably turned to them when nothing else presented itself.

One such occasion, not hitherto noticed, is of some interest because it resulted in the first publication of "Albania. The Love-Letter," reprinted under the title "Love Letters Made of Flowers."[2] Luther A. Brewer, who is followed by Louis Landré, cites *Literary Hours By Various Friends*, ed. Joseph Ablett (1837) as containing "the first publication of Hunt's 'An Albanian Love-Letter,' "[3] but the actual first publication was in *Finden's Tableaux* (1837), edited by Mrs. Samuel Carter Hall.[4] The

[9] I, 568.

[1] See Edmund Blunden, *Leigh Hunt and His Circle* (New York, 1930), p. 229.

[2] See *The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt*, ed. Humphrey S. Milford (London, 1923), pp. 355-356.

[3] Luther A. Brewer, *My Leigh Hunt Library* (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1932-1938), I, 178; Louis Landré, *Leigh Hunt (1784-1859)* (Paris, 1935-1936), II, 499. The portion of the poem in *Literary Hours*, pp. 211-212—really an excerpt—is entitled "An Albanian Love-Letter. (In Flowers.)"

[4] Finden's Tableaux. | A Series of Thirteen Scenes | Of | National Character, Beauty, and Costume. | From Paintings, By Various Artists, | After Sketches By W. Perring. | Edited By Mrs. S. C. Hall. | London: | Published By Charles Tilt, Fleet Street. | M.DCCC.XXXVII. "Albania. The Love Letter" appears on pp. 7-8.

Charles Tilt was an old acquaintance of Hunt, and the poet wrote to him, December 23, 1832, with regard to the subscription edition of his *Poetical Works* (Brewer, *My Leigh Hunt Library*, I, 159): "Mr. Leigh Hunt presents his compli-

poem was reprinted in a different—and later (1843)—volume of *Finden's Tableaux*, and Brewer was misled into thinking that the 1843 text was taken from Ablett's volume.[5]

Since *Finden's Tableaux* like *Literary Hours* is dated 1837, the matter of precedence might seem in doubt except for two pieces of additional evidence. The first is that *Finden's Tableaux* was reviewed in the *New Monthly Magazine* for December, 1836,[6] and the review mentions Leigh Hunt as a contributor to Mrs. Hall's volume. The second is even more conclusive, and is interesting for the picture it gives of Hunt's carefulness with verses that were destined for a mere annual. In a hitherto unpublished letter from Hunt to Mrs. Hall he discusses a change he wishes to make in the poem. The letter is dated simply August 6, but other allusions in it plainly show the year to be 1836.

Hunt had known Mrs. Hall for about a decade before this date, and had maintained a friendly acquaintance with her husband.[7] Anna Maria Hall (1800-1881), a prolific writer of novels, stories, and sketches, was also active as an editor, frequently in conjunction with her husband.[8] Although Hall occasionally made enemies, his wife is almost invariably

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ments to Mr. Tilt, and begs leave to make a poor acknowledgment of his handsome conduct in declining to take commission on this book, by presenting him with a copy of it."

[5] Brewer, *My Leigh Hunt Library*, I, 200. Brewer reprints the sixteen lines beginning "Our friend the Albanian," that are found only in the *Finden's Tableaux* versions, where they describe the engraving for which the poem was commissioned, and which have not been reprinted except by Brewer. In her preface (p. iii) Mrs. Hall declares that "The Work is designed to illustrate, by Pictorial Groups, the Character and Costume of all Nations," and the accompanying letter press was obviously commissioned to fit the engravings. Hunt skilfully makes something more of his poem. Other contributors, besides Hunt and Mrs. Hall, were Allan Cunningham, L. E. L., Laman Blanchard, Charles Swain, and Lady Blessington.

The variants in the original publication from the version printed by Milford are not especially important, being mostly matters of punctuation: (Milford writes [*Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt*, p. xiv]: "Hunt had no particular fancies about spelling or punctuation, and seems to have been content with what his printers gave him."). In l. 20 the original version has rhet'ric] rhetoric—I follow Milford's line numbering—in l. 21 seeking] seeing, in l. 29 maiden blush] *Maiden's Blush*. The most important change which Hunt made when revising the poem for later publication, aside from the excision of the lines reprinted by Brewer, is the omission of the epigraph from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, II, lviii, 1-3.

[6] XLVIII, 508-509. Annuals were often published in the November or December preceding the year which appears on their title page.

[7] See my article, "Leigh Hunt's Hand in Samuel Carter Hall's *Book of Gems*," forthcoming in *Keats-Shelley Journal*. Two letters from Hunt to Mrs. Hall have been printed by Brewer, *My Leigh Hunt Library*, II, 262, 390.

[8] See *DNB* and the references given there.

spoken of by those who knew her in kindly, even enthusiastic terms.[9] And Hunt is gallant, if businesslike, towards her. In 1836 any employment for his pen was welcome, and his appearance in *Finden's Tableaux* is not hard to understand.

Hunt writes:

Chelsea—August 6. [1836][10]

Dear M^rs^ Hall,

Thank you for your beautiful flowers, & their diversity beyond the contract. Item, for[11] the vernal promises which you are good enough to hold out to me. If I had been able to see M^rs^ Hale's book,[12] (which I asked for so late) I might have known more about the literal language of flowers, & perhaps said more in consequence; but it might have tempted me to run too much into plays of words; & though they are good things, when mixed with plays of ideas, it is as well, may be, that I was confined to the latter. It is a subject however on which I find a great deal may be said, & I have not had my will of it yet. Every fresh set of flowers I see makes me long to burst out again.

If you have not yet sent the copy to the printer's, will you be good enough to alter the word "*bay*" to "*pea*"

(Inhale their delicate expressions
Of balm & *pea*)

Bay is not so obviously fragrant as pea.[13] And will you insert also the following couplet at the end of the words "lily & rose;"—

Of tuberose & of violet,
And Little Darling (mignonette)
And gratitude &c.[14]

It pleases me much that I have hit upon what you wished.

As to Lady Morgan's coming to town,[15] it is owing doubtless to the necessity

[9] James T. Fields writes (*Yesterdays With Authors* [Boston, 1900], p. 80) that Hawthorne spoke of Mrs. Hall as " 'one of the best and warmest-hearted women in the world.' "

[10] I wish to thank Mr. R. Norris Williams, 2nd, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for their generous permission to publish the letter. For evidence of dating see notes 15 and 16 below.

[11] At this point the word "your" is canceled.

[12] *Flora's Interpreter: or, The American Book of Flowers and Sentiments* (Boston, 1832) and many subsequent editions, by Mrs. Sarah Josepha (Buell) Hale (1788-1879).

[13] This change was made.

[14] This insertion was made.

[15] She and her husband, Sir Charles Morgan, generally endeavored at this time to pass part of the year in London. They did so in 1836, and settled permanently in London in 1837. See Lionel Stevenson, *The Wild Irish Girl, The Life of Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan (1770-1859)* (London, 1936), pp. 293, 298.

of her being present at my "Ball & Supper,"[16] though she does not know it. Her genius, as in the other instances, instinctively draws her. Have you heard that M^rs Butler is coming from America?[17] Of course, out of the same impulse.

very truly yours,
Leigh Hunt.

Bryn Mawr College DAVID BONNELL GREEN

Authorship of "A Poem, Addressed to a Young Lady," Antigua, 1757 and Boston, 1773

In Wilberforce Eames' *The Antigua Press and Benjamin Mecom* (1929), Dr. Eames points out that *A Poem, Addressed to a Young Lady*, first printed at St. John's, Antigua, in 1757, "has been wrongly attributed to Benjamin Mecom as author and printer." He then goes on to discuss the later, rewritten, edition of this poem, printed at Boston in 1773 (wrongly entered by Evans 11688 under 1770). The Boston Athenæum copy of the 1773 edition is inscribed in an early hand: "It is said by Henry Hulton Esq. late com'r of the Board of Customs."

A reference, presumably to this poem, occurs on p. 62 of *Letters of a Loyalist Lady* (1927), by Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton: "I have inclosed the little poem w^ch my Bro^r Sends to Miss Lightbody & another for Cos^n Han^h. . . . There were several young Ladies here desiring a Copy of the Poem, so my Bro^r got a few Coppies printed."

The Boston edition includes a presentation leaf following the title page, with blank spaces to be filled in by hand. In a copy in original marbled wrappers, recently acquired by The New York Public Library, this leaf is filled in to read: "The Author presents his Compliments to [Miss Byles's] and begs [their] acceptance of the annexed Poem." The flyleaf facing the title page is inscribed in a different, but contemporary, hand: "M. & C. Byles, presented by, || The Hon^ble Henry Hulton Esqr, || One of His Majesty King George 3^d Commissioner's [*sic*] || of the Customs, for the Port of Boston. || 1775. ||" The recipients were no

[16] Presumably "Blue-Stocking Revels," first published in the *Monthly Repository*, July, 1837. Both Fanny Kemble and Lady Morgan are celebrated in that poem, and Mrs. Hall also receives some kind words from Hunt.

[17] See Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of Later Life* (London, 1882), I, 70. She sailed from the United States at the beginning of November, 1836, returning to England for the first time since September, 1832.

doubt the Misses Mary and Catherine Byles, daughters of the famous Dr. Mather Byles of Boston.

The inscriptions in this copy of *A Poem, Addressed to a Young Lady* would appear to be clear evidence that its attribution to Henry Hulton is correct.

Lewis M. Stark

The New York Public Library

Mark Twain Material in the "New York Weekly Review"

Bibliographies of Mark Twain's writings credit the *New York Weekly Review* with the publication of two of his early newspaper sketches, but no specific dates are given.[1] A search of the files of the *Review* for the years 1865, 1866, and 1867 now reveals, however, that eight of Twain's pieces appeared in the paper during those years, among them a previously unknown account of the San Francisco earthquake of 1865, which the *Review* published on November 25, 1865, only one week after the appearance of the Jumping Frog yarn.[2]

Collation of this material in the *Review* with the text of the reprintings in Twain's first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, and Other Sketches*,[3] shows numerous variants in punctuation and capitalization, which are of little or no significance,[4] but also several deletions, which will be of interest to Twain students and bibliographers and which belong to the canon.

Chronologically, the first article which can be collated—the report on the earthquake was published first but only in the *Review*—is "The Christmas Fireside," an acknowledged reprint from the *San Francisco Californian* (December 23, 1865), which had reprinted it from the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* of the day before. The *Review* ran the sketch (February 3, 1866) on page 6, using a characteristic running head: "The

[1] Merle Johnson, *A Bibliography of Mark Twain* (New York, 1935), p. 245; and Edgar M. Branch, "A Chronological Bibliography of the Writings of Samuel Clemens to June 8, 1867," *American Literature*, XVIII (May 1946), 143 and 153.

[2] Paul Carter, "Mark Twain Describes a San Francisco Earthquake," *PMLA*, LXXII (December 1957), 997-1004.

[3] New York, 1867.

[4] C. H. Webb, the publisher, compiled the book before Clemens arrived in New York, and he apparently edited it under the name "John Paul," which appears on the title page. Since it is not clear whether or not Twain read the proofs, Webb may be responsible for the changes. See Albert B. Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), pp. 308, 312, 318, and 320.

Christmas Fireside. | For Good Little Boys and Girls. | By Grandfather Twain. | The Story of the Bad Little Boy that Bore a Charmed Life." Of the thirty-one variants in the reprint in the Jumping Frog collection, only one is worth noting, the rest being limited to changes in punctuation or capitalization. In the Frog volume the title reads: "The Story of the Bad Little Boy who Didn't Come to Grief."

Variants in the second piece, however, are significant. Written for the *Review*, it was published February 17, 1866, under this heading: "An Open Letter | to the American People | Bx [*sic*] Mark Twain." There followed an explanatory paragraph, which may have been written by the editor: "There is a vacant chair in nearly every household in the Union, from Maine to Louisiana, from Wisconsin to Florida; and the forms that should fill them are scattered far and wide among the mines and ranches of California, Nevada, Oregon, Mexico, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Colorado—everywhere that gold lures, or adventure invites. Between the wanderers and their friends at home a few letters pass during the first months of the formers' absence, and then all correspondence ceases. The writer of the following 'Open Letter' desires a word with the nation at large on the subject."

For the Frog book the piece was given the title, "A Complaint about Correspondents, Dated in San Francisco," and the prefatory paragraph and a long section were deleted. The deleted portion appeared originally between the paragraph on page 30 of the Frog collection ending in these words, ". . . one useless correspondence ceased" and the paragraph beginning with the words: "My venerable mother is a tolerably good correspondent. . . ."[5] The deleted material is here quoted in full:

> Here is one from a young dry goods clerk whom I knew well in New Orleans:
>
> "New Orleans, 1863.
>
> "Dear Mark: The night was calm and lovely; not a cloud interposed to mar the tranquil splendor of the heaven's blue dome; the silvery moon floated serenely among the starry isles of the celestial sea, and the tides of earthly oceans swelled with responsive yearning towards their radiant mistress; the soft summer breeze toyed with the flowers in the slumbering meadows, and went whispering on its way through glade and forest; the faint call of the whippor will was wafted up out of the distant grove, and save this, no sound disturbed the sacred calm that rested like a benediction upon reposing Nature.
>
> "You write for the press. It has been your sole occupation for several years—

[5] For an interesting letter concerning this sketch which Twain wrote to his mother and sister, see my article, "Mark Twain Describes a San Francisco Earthquake," *PMLA*, LXXII (December 1957), 997.

and it pays you very well. I am glad it is so; and anything I can do to help you along, or anything I can say, in the way of advice and encouragement will be freely done and freely said. Very often I have ideas which might be written out and printed, and sometimes I make puns which could be turned to account in the same way. In my next I will scribble off some puns and some other things, and you can go over them and work them up and make what use you please of them.

"I have never written for the press myself, but I have an excellent judgment as to how it should be done in order to be most popular with the people. If you are going to write a humorous prose article, you ought always in the first place to go to some secluded spot in the woods—

"and climb a tree, I suppose"—and I pitched the letter aside and never finished it and never answered it nor its successors; and so this fellow's correspondence was choked off finally.

Blast these people who are always giving you subjects "to work up;" and giving you a lot of written stuff to revise and correct and publish; and furnishing you with vile connundrums [*sic*] and nauseating puns! This fellow unquestionably meant for me to steal that infamous paragraph with which he began his letter, and print it—that gruel—that mush—that soup for a sick infant!

And he would intrude his advice and instructions upon me about my own daily labor and my own affairs—a thing which he would not have the presumption to do if I were a shoemaker. It is enough to make one scalp his own grandmother.

Now do you know, this counter-jumper—this yard stick—this calico-surveyor —could have told me little matters of gossip about John Stephenson, and Billy Youngblood, and Sarah Jones, and old Ben Thornburgh, and dozens of other people, that would have been more interesting to me than all his advice and his puns and my aunt's twenty-two chapters of Second Kings all put together.

My friend Miss Althea Blathers writes me all about the fashions; and about delightful young men who have lately come to town—names and individuals both unknown to me, and about the grand opening ball at a great St. Louis hotel—particulars received five days previously per overland mail—and more rubbish about poetry, and romance, and tea parties than you can imagine.

My venerable uncle Baalam writes as follows:

Dear Nephew: Accompanying this letter you will find eighteen excellent tracts on Temperance—the latest and among the best issues of that blessing to youth, the American Tract Society. Read them carefully and thoughtfully, Mark, and tell me what you think of them. Also I forward to you Swedenborg's "Heaven and Hell." Digest it well. Your mind will discover much valuable information in "Heaven," and you will find many things worthy of the most serious contemplation in "Hell." [The old man is probably right—and he need not confine his remarks to Swedenborg's particular Hell, either, I should judge.]

Do you ever think of your latter end, Mark? Shun the intoxicating bowl as you would—"

Always the intoxicating bowl. Am I my uncle Baalams' [*sic*] ass, that he must harness me and ride me a tiresome journey of reform and regeneration, every mail? And this old fossil says never a word about my farm, which has got a crop, and some out-buildings, and a mortgage and some other improvements on it, and which I have been asking questions about until I am weary of it. Does he suppose I care more about my moral character than I do about my farm? I have written him time and again about that property, and now he merely replies with this invoice of temperance tracts and his dead loads of Swedenborgian Heaven and Hell, and that foolish conundrum about my latter end. I won't give a whoop in perdition for a regiment of such correspondents.

The Frog version also omits the brief opening and closing paragraphs of the *Review* printing: "Being in a state of mind bordering on exasperation, I will take it as a favor if you will allow me to fulminate a short lecture through your columns, and so relieve myself." The last paragraph reads: "Any intelligent person who reads the specimen letters I have given in this, will understand that a correspondence with people who write such letters must soon grow irksome and be discontinued. And anybody, who desires to resurrect dead correspondences with distant friends, will see how the thing may be accomplished, if my lecture is as instructive as I meant it to be."

Among the forty-five minor changes are the correction of a misprint—page 28, line 8: "dry" for the incorrect word "day"—and a slip in grammar—page 31, line 5: "whom" substituted for the incorrect "who" in "know whom she is talking about"—.

The third selection in the *Review* (May 5, 1866) is a reprint of "A New Biography of George Washington," which had appeared first in the *Territorial Enterprise* and then been reprinted in the *Californian* (March 3, 1866) and the *Golden Era* (March 4, 1866). The *Review*, without acknowledging the source of the sketch, shortens the title: "A New Biography of Washington." The Frog reprint alters the title again— "Brief Biographical Sketch of George Washington"—and adds a short closing paragraph. Among twenty minor variants in the Frog printing only three are worth noting: page 128, line 22—"somehow" is added after "others" in the phrase, "always do unto others"; page 129, line 7—"noble" is dropped as the modifier of "compliment" in "well deserved was this compliment"; line 23—"county" is substituted for the incorrect "country."

The next piece (June 2, 1866) is an acknowledged reprint of two excerpts from Twain's second Sandwich Island letter to the *Sacramento Union*. These two excerpts and two from the next article in the *Review*—"New Scenes and Strong Contrasts" and "Etiquette"—were not reprinted in the Frog collection. They are here collated with the text of the Sandwich Island letters.[6]

The *Review*, under the dual heading " 'Mark Twain,' at Sea | The 'Old Nor'west Swell,' " printed the first paragraph of the letter to the *Union*, which had also used a dual heading for it: "The Ajax Voyage Continued— | The 'Old Nor'west Swell.' " The second excerpt in the *Review* was from the fourth section of the letter, in which it had the subtitle, "Passing Away the Weary Time." The *Review* reprint ended with the complete paragraph, beginning "Dennis was served up on the 17th for our St. Patrick's dinner . . ." There were no other changes.

The *Review's* "Two Views of Honolulu" (June 9, 1866) also were reprinted from the *Sacramento Union*. The first view, taken from the section of the fourth letter entitled "New Scenes and Strong Contrasts," shows two deletions: in the first paragraph the pharse "about like Portsmouth Square (as to size)," is dropped from the third sentence after the words "ample yards,"; from the same long sentence the words "and astraddle," are dropped after the words "on fleet horses" in the clause, "I met dusky native women sweeping by, free as the wind, on fleet horses . . ."

The second view of Honolulu combines two excerpts from different letters to the *Union*: one, "The Steed 'Oahu,' " is a verbatim reprint from the sixth letter including the *Union's* sub-title; the other, "Etiquette," is a reprint of a section of the fifth letter with the same sub-head but with one deletion. In the last sentence of the next-to-last paragraph the words, "I have yearned for a moment like this," were dropped from the sentence, beginning "For sixteen weary years . . ." In the version of "The Steed 'Oahu' " in the Frog book, there are, however, twenty variants, of which five are significant as evidence of an increasing concern with refinements of usage: page 179, line 1—"hotel" is added to read "American hotel"; line 16—"up" is deleted from "hung up my hat"; page 181, line 2—adds "had" to "I heard that the eye . . ."; line 6—"in" becomes "into";

[6] The letters are reprinted in Walter F. Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* (Chicago, 1947), p. 262 ff. The discovery of these reprints in the *New York Weekly Review* corrects Mr. Frear's observation that "the only reprints in the Eastern press, so far as the writer knows, were of the first, second, fourth, fifth and sixth Letters in the *New York Weekly* of Mar. 14, 28, Apr. 11, May 23 and June 27, 1867." *Ibid.*, p. 258.

line 7—adds "his" before "nature" in "the inborn villainy of his nature . . ."

The next selection, "How, for Instance?", first appeared in the *Territorial Enterprise* (August, 1866) and was reprinted by the *Review* (September 29, 1866) with the same title but with the inaccurate statement, "For the *New York Weekly Review*." In the Frog collection the piece was given a new title, "An Inquiry About Insurances," and thirty-five variants, of which the following are the most interesting: page 76, line 1—deletes "on the Capital" after word "Sacramento"; line 2—"centre" becomes "center"; line 3—drops "in the saloon of the steamboat" after the word "table"; line 12—deletes "if you think you can spare so much space to a far-distant stranger" after the words, "Accident shop" and adds "For" to next sentence; line 16—words "General accidents" are made part of the sentence instead of appearing as the heading for the section; line 18—"Ruptures, Tendons," instead of "Ruptured Tendons"; line 19—"Bruising" for "Bruises"; page 77, line 2—deletes "of Dogs" after "Bites"; page 78, line 4—"on" instead of "for" in "I couldn't collect on a dog-bite,"; page 79, line 6—deletes "have a chance to" after "man" in "they would let that man . . ."; line 15—"fair" for "fresh" in "give Washoe a fair start."; page 81, line 7-8—drops "go and" after "you" in "when you take so much pains . . ."

The last piece to appear in the *Review* during this period, entitled "Depart, Ye Accursed!" (December 15, 1866), was apparently written for the *Review* as claimed in the front-page caption. The sketch was reprinted in the *Californian* (January 19, 1867) with a different title, "Mark Twain on Chambermaids," and in the Frog collection as "Concerning Chambermaids." Eight of the twenty-one variants are concerned with more than punctuation or capitalization: page 167, line 13—deletes "mute" from before the word "suggestion" in "they receive not the suggestion in a friendly spirit"; page 168, line 1—drops "you" after "defy"; line 2—substitutes "has" for "hath" after "God"; line 13—"into" for "in" after "boots"; line 22—"up" added to "put" in "put up a bottle"; page 169, line 6—drops "the" from before "rocking-chair"; line 20—deletes "then" from before "start" in "and start the fire . . ."; page 170, line 19—"trying" substituted for "coming" in "They keep always trying . . ."

Since it is not clearly established that Twain read the proofs of the Jumping Frog volume, this collation may not reveal anything of possible changes in Mark's stylistic practices or development, but it does serve to

establish the text of the sketches before they were edited for the book. Furthermore, the appearance of eight of the sketches in the *New York Weekly Review*—three of them on the front page[7]—is important for three reasons. First, it reveals Twain's active interest in Eastern outlets; second, it shows his early popularity with Eastern editors; and third, it signifies his acceptance by a relatively high-class paper. For the *Review* was dedicated to the advancement of the arts in America, especially music. It featured commentary and criticism of music, including reviews of performances, and biographical sketches of musicians, but it also printed selections from the best foreign literary sources and "the best stories, sketches, essays, poems, and miscellaneous articles" of American writers.[8] The "Wild Humorist of the Pacific Slope" joined highly respected company in the *Review*, and this fact undoubtedly encouraged him to experiment further with a journalistic career.[9]

PAUL J. CARTER

University of Colorado

A. E. Housman's Poetry in Book-Titles, II

This note is a supplement to my article, "A. E. Housman's Poetry in Book-Titles," published in these PAPERS the first quarter of 1955, Volume 49. In that article were described forty books issued between 1920 and 1953 under titles chosen from Housman's poems. The following eleven books join this minor canon, four of them, it must be admitted, in existence prior to the appearance of my paper but discovered only within the last three years:

The Wind of Morning, by Thomas Camborne [Paynter] (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1935). Novel.

[7] "An Open Letter" (lead article); "How, For Instance?"; "Depart, Ye Accursed!"

[8] Statement of policy in issue of December 23, 1865. The scope of the *Review* is suggested by the table of contents for the issue of September 29, 1866: "An Old Story (poem)," "How For Instance" by Mark Twain, "A Few Wordy Griefs" by Augusta B. Garrett, "Music Abroad," "Story with a Vengeance," "Junius Brutus Booth," "The Universal Exhibition of 1867," "Music at Home," "The Drama" by Pewit, "Literary Notes," "Cleopatra" by Algernon Charles Swinburne, "Biographies of Shakespeare," "Miscellaneous Items."

[9] I am indebted to the Council on Research of the University of Colorado and to the Yale University Library for the photostat of the *Weekly Review* and to Mr. Herwig Zauchenberger for editorial assistance.

A Shropshire Lad 42, line 1: "Once in the wind of morning"

Quotation on title-page: *ASL* 42, lines 1-4 followed by: A Shropshire Lad—A. E. Housman. (Also on page 106 spoken by a character *ASL* 14, lines 9-12).

We'll to the Woods No More, by Édouard Dujardin; translation by Stuart Gilbert (New York, New Directions, 1938). Novel.
Last Poems prologue poem, line 1: "We'll to the woods no more"

No quotation, acknowledgment.

The title of the Paris edition of Dujardin's novel, *Les lauriers sont coupés*, (Mossein, 1924) is taken from the opening line of Théodore de Banville's "*Les Stalactites*" number 3: "*Nous n'irons plus au bois, les lauriers sont coupés.*"

The selection of the line from Housman's prologue for the title of the American edition of Dujardin's novel was almost inevitable, for the prologue is a free rendering of the lyric by de Banville.

Out of the West Land, by Lovat Dickson (Toronto, Collins, 1944). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 38, line 1: "The winds out of the west land blow"

Quotation on title-page: *ASL* 38, lines 1-4, followed by: A. E. Housman.

Safe to Rest, by Lesley Cheyne (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1948). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 44, line 25: "Turn safe to rest, no dreams, no waking"

Quotations: on page 213, *ASL* 44, lines 1-4, 21-28; on page 248, "Turn safe to rest" is quoted significantly by a character. Title of Epilogue: "Safe to Rest." No acknowledgment.

The Careless People, by Helen Fowler and Bernard Harris (New York, Morrow, 1955). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 14, line 1: "There pass the careless people"

Quotation: the 20-line poem, followed by: A. E. Housman, *A Shropshire Lad*. Acknowledgment to Henry Holt & Co.

The Far Dwelling, by Rolanda Dauncey (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1955). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 11, lines 8-9: "In the land to which I travel / The far dwelling. . . ."

No quotation, acknowledgment.

The Tree of Man, by Patrick White (New York, Viking, 1955). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 31, line 15: "The tree of man was never quiet"

Quotations: on page 389, *ASL* 31, lines 13-16; on page 390, *ASL* 31, lines

17-20. Acknowledgment on verso of title-page: "The lines of poetry on pages 389-390 are from A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* XXXI."

Valleys of Springs, by Dorothea Eastwood (London, Wingate, 1956). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 50, line 1: "In valleys of springs of rivers"

Quotation on page 137: *ASL* 50, lines 1-4 (and *Last Poems* 1, lines 21-24). Acknowledgment to Literary Trustees of Housman's estate.

On the Haycock, by Leslie Kark (London, Joseph, 1957). Novel.
Last Poems 23, line 6: "On the haycock as they lay"

Quotation on page 7, following dedication: the 8-line poem (quoted also on the book-jacket), followed by: A. E. Housman. *LP* 23, lines 5-8 quoted on page 154. Full acknowledgment on page 8.

Mine Were of Trouble, by Peter Kemp (London, Cassell, 1957). Novel.
More Poems 6, line 13: "Mine were of trouble"

Quotation below dedication: *MP* 6, lines 9-13, followed by: A. E. Housman.

An Air That Kills, by Margaret Millar (New York, Random House, 1957). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 40, line 1: "Into my heart an air that kills"

Quotation opposite title-page: the 8-line poem, followed by: —A. E. Housman. Full acknowledgment facing dedication.

None of these titles augments the small shelf containing the thirteen volumes named from "The troubles of our proud and angry dust" (*LP* 9, line 25, four titles), "Shoulder the sky, my lad, and drink your ale" (*LP* 9, line 28, three titles), and

I, a stranger and afraid
In a world I never made

(*LP* 12, lines 17-18, six titles); and it may be supposed that these four oft-invaded lines will cease to be represented in the new book-lists. One novelty that emerges, however, from a review of the sum total of fifty-one titles is that Margaret Millar's *An Air That Kills* raises to five the number of *different* phrases chosen from *ASL* 40, a lyric containing only eight lines—and the earliest *Shropshire Lad* poem Housman copied in his Notebooks.

Tom Burns Haber

Ohio State University

Book Reviews

JACKSON, WILLIAM A., ed. *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640*. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1957. xiv, 556 pp. 8¾ x 10¾ inches.

In the Registers of the Stationers' Company of London is preserved the noblest record in any land of the early history of book publication, and the other surviving muniments preserve much, though unhappily not all, of the important history of that Company. As early as 1699 Bishop Tennyson culled some twenty excerpts from Register B (see British Museum Add. MS.6261). After the change in copyright law in 1710, however, the old volumes seem to have been neglected until Joseph Ames printed the Company's charter in *Typographical Antiquities* (1749). Ames made no attempt to link the books he listed with the entries in the Registers; this was left to William Herbert, in his edition of *Antiquities* in 1788-1790. Meanwhile, Thomas Warton quoted extensively from the Registers in his *History of English Poetry* (1778), and the Shakespearian scholars, Steevens, Malone, Douce, and Chalmers followed his lead. The first systematic work on the Registers was by John Payne Collier, who edited *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company . . . between the Years 1557 and 1570* for the Shakespeare Society in 1848-1849 and continued the series down to 1594 in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser., XII, and 3rd ser., I-III. Then in 1875 appeared the first volume of Edward Arber's *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, issued for subscribers. This invaluable work of reference was followed in 1913-1914 by the three-volume continuation to the year 1708 edited for the Roxburghe Club by G. E. B. Eyre from H. R. Plomer's transcripts. Scholars in every field, but especially the historians of the drama, made extensive use of these volumes. They were of the greatest value to the compilers of the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland* published by the Bibliographical Society of London in 1926. About this time, the Bibliographical Society was permitted to have photostatic copies of certain folios of Register B that Arber had not been allowed

to print and the whole of Court Book C, the complete records, that is, of the Court of the Stationers' Company from July 1576 to March 1655. The unpublished portion of Register B (folios 427-486) was transcribed and edited by W. W. Greg and Eleanor Boswell Murrie for the Bibliographical Society in 1930. And now, after fifteen years of intermittent but intensive labor by William A. Jackson, the Society publishes Court Book C, continuing the story through 1640.

Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640 is worthy of its editor, of the series in which it appears, of the Bibliographical Society of London, and of the Stationers' Company. Sir Walter Greg's introductory essay to the earlier volume provides so much information about the organization of the Stationers' Company and the functioning of its officers and Court that Jackson is free to devote the twenty-odd pages allotted him to a summary account of such little understood topics as "The English Stock," "The Latin Stock," the less profitable "Irish Stock," and "The Ballad Partners," and such abstruse matters as the patents granted to George Wood, Marin de Boisloré, Roger Wood, and Thomas Symcock. The learning of the editor is displayed admirably in this lucid introduction, but to even greater advantage in the annotations of the text which, surely, could have come from no other pen.

The volume will yield a plentiful harvest to any reader who has worked with books of the first half of the seventeenth century. Historians of colonial America may be surprised to learn that on May 19, 1612, the sum of £20 was drawn "out of the hall stock" for venturing in the Virginia Lottery, "the hall stocke to haue all the benefitt that shall coñe thereof," and that, upon the special plea of the Privy Council and of the Virginia Company, an additional £45 was ventured on May 17, 1614, again out of the hall stock, with provision that "the prises if any happen; shalbe to the parten^{rs} in the stocke." The discussion of patents has led Jackson to the discovery of a printed playbill of about 1610 from the press of William Jaggard that is earlier by some 75 years than any other known. Students of church history—and diplomats as well—may take note of the theological books printed exclusively for export in a war of propaganda.

Anyone with leisure to browse should begin with the Index, which points the way to all sorts of alluring bypaths. My only regret is that it could not have been more detailed. It would be enormously helpful, for example, to have an index entry for the title of every book mentioned in the text or the footnotes, and another for the author of each book so named.

One extant broadside ballad printed for the assigns of Thomas Symcock seems to have eluded Jackson's eagle eye (cf. p. xx, note 1): the ballad of *Titus Andronicus* at the Bodleian Library. One printer's error and one misspelled word have come to my attention: on page 67, a side note has "*Margina*" instead of "*Marginal*," and in the second column of page 491, under the entry for Thomas Adams, "guarantor" is printed "quarantor."

Folger Shakespeare Library James G. McManaway

Taylor, Robert H. *Authors at Work [:] An Address Delivered at the Opening of an Exhibition of Literary Manuscripts at the Grolier Club Together With a Catalogue of the Exhibition by Herman W. Liebert and Facsimiles of Many of the Exhibits.* New York, The Grolier Club, 1957. 52 pp. Plates. 11 x 8½ inches. $10.00.

This handsome folio is one of the most stimulating and entertaining productions ever to carry the Grolier Club imprint. The exhibition it records and illustrates was assembled in the autumn of 1955, and Mr. Taylor's address was delivered, and Mr. Liebert's descriptions unveiled, on the opening night, October 18. Seventy-one authors were represented in the exhibition, and the work of forty-one of these provides the copy for the superb gravures which make up the bulk of the book.

The Taylor-Liebert collaboration is a particularly happy one. Each sings, as it were, in the same key. Each is aware that he is treading holy ground, but each goes about his allotted chore with high good humor and occasional tart observation. Mr. Taylor, for instance, in discussing several fragments of Carlyle's *History of Frederick the Great* which look like a nest in process of construction by a schizoid squirrel, acquits the luckless servant of John Stuart Mill who committed a regrettable act of literary arson with the manuscript of *The French Revolution* on the ground that she was the victim of the "only too natural thought that this mass of stuff was intended for the fireplace." And in describing a bulky scrap of Ouida's *Tonia*, Mr. Liebert notes: "Perhaps unfortunately, Ouida had few second thoughts. The purple prose flows from the purple pen with little hesitation, and the newspaper-size pages and huge writing are some compensation for lack of other dimensions." The Ouida sampling, by my computation, measures sixty-three square inches. Into this considerable acreage she could fit no more than thirty-five words. The papermakers must have adored her.

Ouida affords good comic relief; for the rest, the effect is, in the main, moving and inspiring. Here is genius in *accouchement*, and few of the deliveries are painless. Yet there are times when a writer's ideas proliferate like dandelions. Consider an early draft of *The School for Scandal*; in Mr. Taylor's words: "The characters come to life so rapidly that Sheridan has no time even to indicate which one is speaking; references to unwritten scenes are jotted down on blank pages; the whole thing expands under our eyes." (Mr. Taylor's slip in twice referring to Sheridan's one tragedy as *Pizzaro* was doubtless due to a sublimated gustatory recollection.)

One method of transferring thoughts to paper is not represented in this fine gallery, perhaps because no examples of it were discoverable by Mr. Taylor's Committee on Arrangements. That is composition directly into type. You have to be a printer, of course, to manage this operation, but there has been an abundance of author-printers, few of whom, actually, composed at the case, though many a country editor used to construct his editorials into the stick, and those linotype operators must be few indeed who have not clattered letters-home out of their machines and dispatched them as pulled proofs. When seventeen-year-old Benjamin Franklin met his Philadelphia employer, Samuel Keimer, the latter was composing in type an elegy to his late associate Aquila Rose (poetry, yet). Mark Twain tells how Bret Harte, working as a compositor on *The Golden Era* of San Francisco, "spun his literature out of his head while at work at the case, and set it up as he spun."

The techniques which Messrs. Taylor and Liebert themselves employed are nowhere revealed. A source which has hitherto proved reliable informs me that Mr. Taylor is moderately proficient on a portable typewriter (make unspecified). Mr. Liebert, I suspect, favored 3 x 5's and a ball-point pen. The means are irrelevant; whatever they may have been, a noble end was achieved.

John T. Winterich

Ossining, New York

Watson, George, ed. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. Volume V. Supplement: A. D. 600-1900. Edited by George Watson.* New York, Cambridge University Press, 1957. xiv, 710 pp. 9⅛ x 6⅛ inches. $13.50.

In his Preface to the major work published in 1940 Mr. F. W. Bateson, the general editor, foresaw "supplements to the *Cambridge Bibliog-*

raphy of English Literature, to be issued at suitable intervals." Seventeen years after publication of the original four volumes the first supplement has been issued as the work of George Watson, editor, and 117 contributors and revisers who are listed following Mr. Watson's Preface. Mr. Bateson "laid the foundations" for this *Supplement*, "and stood ready at all times to help and to counsel."

The major work set out "to record, as far as possible in chronological order, the authors, titles and editions, with relevant critical matter, of all the writings in book-form (whether in English or Latin) that can still be said to possess some literary interest, by natives of what is now the British Empire, up to the year 1900." Authors who were not "established" until after 1900 were not included. Volumes I, II and III list in the first place the writings by the authors under consideration; and then secondarily works about these authors and their writings, bibliographies, works about the English language, prosody, literary forms and movements, political and social backgrounds, etc. Volume IV of the 1940 work is devoted to an index of the other three volumes.

The 1957 supplement has little to add to the lists of writings by the authors who have made English literature. However, some editions of these writings published since 1940 are listed if they have been revised or enlarged. The *Supplement* is accordingly devoted almost entirely to secondary material. Most of this consists of books and articles that have appeared between the years 1940 and 1956, although many items issued in the 1930's and overlooked in the original work are now included. "No attempt has been made to list publications which appeared before 1930 or to make good errors and pre-1930 omissions in C. B. E. L."

The editor refers to "two floods of literary criticism in the field of English" in the last twenty years: one British and one American. Besides the thousands of British and American scholarly works here listed, there is a very large number of works in German, French, Dutch, Italian and other European languages.

Mr. Watson writes that "the arrangement of the Supplement has been made to conform absolutely to that of C. B. E. L. itself, and a running headline ensures that the original Index may be used for both." It is to be regretted, however, that an index to the *Supplement* itself has not been included. The six pages at the beginning of the *Supplement* containing a list of its contents and the running headlines are helpful, but the search for special items can be quite time-consuming for the lack of an index to this volume. If an index of all the writers of the secondary books and articles might be regarded as too much of an undertaking, an index of the

authors and subjects with which the secondary items are concerned, although a less ambitious project, would have been most helpful.

In 1941 it was my privilege to write a review for the PAPERS of *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature,* expressing the opinion that this work would be found of inestimable value wherever there is an interest in English literature. I have used *CBEL* constantly since 1941, and have learned to depend on it a good deal. The supplementary volume is an extremely valuable addition, and anyone who has the four-volume work certainly ought to acquire this fifth volume.

GEORGE L. MCKAY

The Grolier Club

KYRISS, ERNST. *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet.* 2. Tafelband. Stuttgart, Max Hettler Verlag, 1956. 137 pp. 103 plates. 6 x 4½ inches. DM.80.

The work of Ernst Kyriss for more than a quarter of a century has represented a most meritorious contribution to our knowledge of early stamped bindings. This scholar's painstaking study of the extant bookbindings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries embodied in his *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet* appeared in 1951. Two years later this monumental work received a companion volume of plates (*Tafelband*) which has now been followed by a second volume. A third and concluding volume is now underway. When the last volume of plates reaches completion, Kyriss in the preparation of his stupendous project will have had access to nearly 25,000 rubbings and descriptions of Gothic bindings. This work of limited appeal but of great service to scholarship must be considered as definitive in its field.

The text volume of 1951 indicates the whereabouts of 14,463 known and accessible specimens of Gothic bindings. They are divided into four groups, *viz.*, monastic bindings, books by binders known by name, bindings identifiable by armorial bearings or initials, and books by unknown binders.

The illustrations in the first volume of plates go with the first three groups in the text volume. The second volume of plates illustrates the group of bindings from shops whose craftsmen cannot be identified by name. These two volumes of illustrations are not all-inclusive, since format and the reproduction size of the stamps—all stamps appear in

their original size—caused space limitations. It was thought to be more important to reproduce often occurring stamps rather than all of the 7,088 identified by Kyriss, for by this method recognition of a particular binder or workshop would be made more possible. "Aus diesem Grunde," says Kyriss in outlining procedure, "sollen im allgemeinen alle Formen wiedergegeben werden, die auf mindestens einem Viertel der festgestellten Bände vorkommen." Of further importance is the fact that Kyriss personally selected all bindings shown in the volumes of plates "an Ort und Stelle" and either had them photographed or had rubbings prepared.

The arrangement of the second volume of plates remains the same as in the previous publication. Shops 76-127 investigated in Volume Two yield a total of 1726 different stamps, of which, however, only 426 on 104 plates are reproduced in accord with the principle set forth above. All stamps are shown in their original size on the left-hand page. Starting with 1, the stamps are numbered according to the frequency of their use. A few of the less common in occurrence have an identifying letter instead of a number. Opposite the stamp page to the right appears a photograph of a complete cover of a book from the shop in question. Location, call number, and size of volumes in accessible libraries are supplied in each instance. Unfortunately photographs of bindings from shops discovered in the libraries of Prague and Olomouc were not made available to the author for inclusion.

The second volume of plates lists 52 binders within the period from 1470 to 1540 identifiable as to location but not known by name. The range of attributable bindings varies from 25 for a Cologne shop to 309 for a craftsman in Augsburg. The statistical variation in stamps comes to 5 for Memmingen and 152 for Ulm, where the unknown artisan used his large array of stamps on over 250 volumes. Five especially outstanding and characteristic stamp designs could be ascertained for Augsburg, 2 for Cologne, 3 for Leipzig, and 3 for Nuremberg. Erfurt, Eszlingen, and Tübingen complete the list of localities that appear in the second volume. A useful improvement was effected in Volume Two by expansion of the textual data concerning the chosen volumes shown in photographical reproduction.

The laborious and exacting research done by Kyriss throughout the years in a heretofore neglected but important field deserves the praise and gratitude of scholars everywhere. Kyriss has furnished what must be recognized as a cornerstone upon which can be founded securely the future study of a history of bookbinding in its various styles. The visual

information provided in both the first and second volume of plates now makes the Kyriss publication a more readable and useful reference work for librarians, bookdealers, and collectors who need recourse to a valuable source such as this. In conclusion, the author's publisher, Max Hettler, deserves thanks for fearlessly undertaking to publish a work of restricted interest and of small monetary returns. He has indeed rendered an inestimable service to scholarship.

E. Heyse Dummer

St. Cloud State College